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BIHAR AND ORISSA
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PATNA

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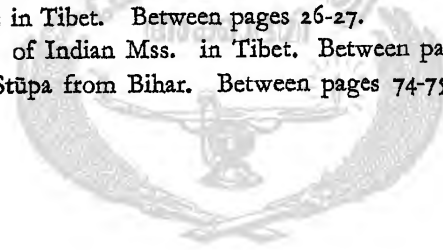
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[PART I.

Leading Articles

Report of Anthropological Work in 1932-33:

The Bhūiyās and their Congeners

By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy

During the year 1932-33, besides carrying on ethnological investigations among the Khṛias, the Asurs, and the Birjias of Chōṭā-Nāgpur, and the Koṛwās of the Jashpur State of the Central Provinces, I continued my investigations among the Bhūiyās of Chōṭā-Nāgpur and Ōṛissā and the Musāhārs of Bihār. A monograph on one section of the Bhūiyās is in the press, and monographs on the other tribes are in course of preparation.

(i) *The Bhūiyās.*

The Bhūiyās appear to be one of the most interesting tribes of India, from the ethnologist's standpoint. In this tribe, in their various branches, more perhaps than in any other, the ethnologist may study *in situ* the various stages and processes of cultural development through which some sections of the Indian population have advanced from

savagery to comparative civilisation. And even in any particular section of this tribe the ethnologist can find traces of distinct strata of culture-elements of different levels associated together.

The Bhūiyā tribe, in all its branches, although numbering over one and a half million souls, has a very wide distribution. They are spread over at least half a dozen provinces of India. They are found in varying numerical strength and social status in Bengal, Bihār, Ōṛissā, Chōṭā-Nāgpur, Assam, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, Central India Agency, and the Madras Presidency. Their principal stronghold at present is in the northern stages of cultural progress from the almost primitive Pāuṛi or Hill Bhūiyās of Kēonjhar, Bonāi, and Pāl-Lāheṛā States to the thoroughly Hinduized Bhūiyā baronial families such as the Gaṛhātīā family of Himgir and the Māhāpātra family of Nāgrā in the Gāngpūr State and some others, and the common Pāik Bhūiyās or Khāṇḍāit Bhūiyās and Rājkuḷi and Prājā Bhūiyās who hold intermediate positions. According to Risley¹ "Some of the leading Bhūiyā families have come to be Chiefs of the petty States of Ōṛissā, and have merged their identity in the claim to quasi-Rajput descent." Similarly from the depressed Bhūiyā serfs of the Pālāmau District, and the still more depressed Mūsāhār Bhūiyās of the Patna District to the respectable agricultural Ghāṭwār Bhūiyās of the Hāzārībāgh District and the still more advanced landholding *Ṭikāits* of the Monghyr and Bhāgalpur Districts, the Northern Bhūiyās too represent different grades of social position and culture.

The Ōṛissā States form the centre of the southern section of the tribe, whereas the Chōṭā-Nāgpur Districts of Pālāmau and Hāzārībāgh and the adjoining Bihār District of Gayā form the centre of what may be called the Northern section of the tribe.

¹ *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, vol. I, p. III. See also Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 140.

(ii) *Tribal Bhūiyās and Titular Bhūiyās.*

The name 'Bhūiyā' and its variants 'Bhūmia', 'Bhūihār' 'Bhūiyār', 'Būi or Bhūi' etc., are
 (1) Different meanings of the name. all derived from the Sanskrit word 'Bhūmi' meaning 'land'. One or other of the variants of the name appear to have been applied, in different parts of India, to widely separated communities, either in the sense of autochthones or children of the soil (*Bhūmi* or *Bhūi*), or in the sense of reclaimers or owners of the land (*Bhūmihār*) or as implying some connection with land.

Some pre-Āryan communities of Ōṛissā who call themselves by such titular names as *Pāik* (soldiers) or *Khāṇḍāit* (swordsmen) *Pāik* or *Khāṇḍāit Bhūiyās* (as distinguished from *Kshatriya Khāṇḍāits*), *Ghāṭwār* or *Ghāṭwāl* (guards of the hill-passes) in the Hāzāribāgh District of Chōṭā-Nāgpur, *Ṭikāit* (invested with the *ṭikā* or mark of investiture of landlordship) in the Sāntāl Parganās, *Ganzhu* (village-landlord) in parts of Chōṭā-Nāgpur, and so forth, now resent being called 'Bhūiyās', although there are cogent reasons to regard them as tribal Bhūiyās by origin.

The gradual elevation from a lower social class to a higher, from a despised aboriginal tribe to a fairly respectable Hindu caste, is a familiar phenomenon in Tribal Bhūiyās. India and has been going on for generations among the Bhūiyās as among several other tribes. Thus, of the landholding section of the Bhūiyās of the Sāntāl Parganās, we read in Buchanan's *Bhagalpur Journal* (1810-1811) : "Some men of the families of the Ṭhākurs, Ṭhakoits, and Baboos, whom in Captain Brown's time (1772-78) every one called Bhūiyās, and who are now commonly called as such by other tribes, said that nobody called them so ; that they were Surji Bangs and knew nothing of Bhūiyās or Onwārs.² They would only acknowledge, that, before

2 Mr. Oldhan in his edition of Buchanan's *Bhagalpur Journal* suggests that "the word is 'Angawar', i.e. pertaining to Anga, the old name of the country adjoining Magadha on the east, just as we shall find a section of the Bhūiyās called Magahiyā, i.e. belonging to Magadha"

they obtained zemindaries, they were called Rai. They have now pure Brāhmaṇs as *Purohīts*, and *Sannyāsīs* or *Brahmachārīs* for spiritual guides, and may form two annas of the population of *Belpata*. They follow the same rule in eating, etc., as the Rajputs. One of the Bhūiyās, not of the blood of the Tekoits, says that both they and he are Bhūiyās and descended from the stock; but that the Tekoits and their kindred are of higher rank, and greater purity. He says that the proper name of the tribe is Rāj Bhūiyās. Those who are rich have Brāhmaṇ *Purohīts* (priests), but the poor content themselves with *Purohīts* of their own who pray to the Sun and to Basumatī. They eat fowls, goats, swine, but not beef, and drink spirituous liquors."³ In his *Gayā Journal*, Buchanan writes, under date 15th December (1911) :—"In the evening I was visited by Obadut Singh, Ṭikāyit of Domni (Dhamni) to whom all the country on this side of the Sukar belongs. He calls himself a Surajbansī Rājput, and such of his people as live pure are called Ghāṭwāls. Those who adhere to their old impurity, and eat beef, pork, fowls and every other abomination, are called Bhūngiyas."⁴

Mr. (now Sir Hugh) McPherson, in his *Settlement Report of the Sāntāl Parganās* (1898-1907) writes thus of these Bhūiyā Chiefs :—"Their Chiefs make the usual Kṣatriya pretensions and calling themselves Surjabansīs disclaim connection with their Bhūiyā kinsmen. But the physical characteristics are all alike Dravidian, and in Captain Brown's time (1772-78) the Chiefs never thought of claiming to be other than Bhūiyā. The highest Chiefs of the Bhūiyās are called Ṭikāits, and are supposed to have the mark of royalty. Inferior Chiefs are called Ṭhākurs, and the younger members of noble Bhūiyā families are called Babus."⁵

(Bihar).—*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, XV, p. 340, Foot-note.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 356-357.

⁴ *Journal of Francis Buchanan, Patna and Gaya in 1811-1812* (Patna, 1925), p. 67.

⁵ *Settlement Report of the Sāntāl Parganās*, 1898-1907.

If some sections of the Bhūiyās, now disclaim the tribal name, and assume names indicative of a higher social status befitting their present improved position in life, there are others who, sunk lower in social position than most of their congeners elsewhere, deem it a point of honour to call themselves by their real tribal name of 'Bhūiyās'. Thus, the large pre-Āryan and pre-Dravidian population scattered all over Bihār and designated by their neighbours as *Mūsāhārs* (lit., rat-killers or rat-eaters), who however, are but a degenerate section of the Bhūiyā tribe, deem it a point of honour to be designated as 'Bhūiyās.' Buchanan in his *Gayā Journal*, under date 18th February, 1912, writes of village Arkal (Arwal), "Many *Mūsāhārs* here ; they are called *Būnghiyās*."⁶ To this day, most *Mūsāhārs*, as they are called by their neighbours, call themselves *Bhūiyās*.

Again, some aboriginal tribes who are tribally quite titular *Bhūiyās* distinct from the tribal Bhūiyās, as well as a few Hindu castes of high social status, take pride in the designation of *Bhūinhār* which is a variant of the name 'Bhūiyā', but is employed in a different sense from that of 'autochthone'. Thus, the descendants of the aboriginal founders of villages in Chōṭā-Nāgpur, belonging whether to Mūṇḍā or Ōrāon or Khāṇiā or Bhūmij tribes are known as *Bhūihār*, not as a tribal name, but as an honorific class-title denoting holders of a privileged class of tenures in land locally known as *Bhūinhāri* tenures. And a sub-tribe of the Mūṇḍās, now found mostly in the Pālāmau District of Chōṭā Nāgpur, though cut off from the main body of the Mūṇḍā tribe of the Rānchi District by intervening settlements of Ōrāons and certain other tribes and castes, have long acquired the name of 'Bhūihārs' as a tribal designation, although possessing no *Bhūihāri* tenures, at any rate at the present day. Dr. Wise tells us that "the term (*Bhūiyā*) is also occasionally used as a surname of the

despised Jogi (Jugi) weavers (of Bengal), and Bhūiyā again is a Mahammadan title."⁷

In higher social spheres, some apparently Āryan land-holding communities such as the Bhūihār Brāhmaṇs of Bihār and the Bhūmiā Rājputs of Rājputānā take pride in the titular appellation of *Bhūihār* or *Bhūmiā*, as denoting a specially high status in relation to land. It may be noted that Buchanan in his *Journal* (both of the Purnea and of the Shahabad Districts) explains the name of the former as meaning "Bhūṅgiyā or Zemindar Brāhmaṇs." He says, "Both words imply their being employed in the management of land, the former in the Hindi, the latter in the Persian language.... They are fond of being called Rājā and Zemindar, and rent land without scruple. They indeed chiefly subsist by farming, although they will not hold the plough with their own hands... Their manners are very similar to those of the Rājputs. They are fond of military life. They seem to me to be the remains of the Brachmani of Pliny, whom he represents as a people and not as a priesthood."⁸

In Rājputānā, as we learn, "the Bhūm tenure is very highly esteemed by Rājputs of all classes, so that some chiefs of superior rank think it no dishonour to be styled Bhūmiās..... The Mahārājāh of Kishengarh, the Ṭhākur of Fategarh, the Ṭhākur of Juni, the Ṭhākur of Bundunwaru, and the Ṭhākur of Tantai, are among the Bhūmiās of Ajmere."⁹

The most notable application of the name 'Bhūiyā' as an honorific designation is that of the well-known 'Bāro-Bhūiyās or Twelve Bhūiyās of Bengal. These were twelve most eminent and powerful men who possessed or secured extensive dominions in Bengal and rose to be great territorial chiefs during the disintegration and decay of the old Paṭhān rule in Bengal and the rise of the Moghuls to power,

⁷ *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. xlii, part I, p. 198.

⁸ Francis Buchanan—*An Account of the District of Purnea, 1809-10*, p. 208.

⁹ *Rajputana Gazetteer*, vol. ii, p. 30.

and became famous in history under the name of 'Bāro-Bhūiyās'. They had not the remotest connection with the tribal Bhūiyās, two or three of them (Isā Khān¹⁰ of Khijirpur, Fazal Gāzi of Bhāwāl and Chānd Gāzi of Chānd Pratāp) having been Mahummadans and the rest (such as Mahārājā Pratāpāditya Rāi of Jaśohar, Rājā Kandarpa Nārāyaṇ Rāi of Chandradwipa, Ganesh Rāi of Dinājpur, Chānd Rāi and Kedār Rāi of Śrīpur in Vikrampur, Mukunda Rām Rāi of Bhushna, and Kaṃsa Nārāyaṇ of Tahirpur) were high-caste Āryan Hindus.¹¹

Through inadequate information, however, such a connection was suggested or rather confusion made between the lowly aboriginal tribe of Bhūiyās in Bihār, Ōrissā and Chōṭā-Nāgpur, on the one hand, and, on the other, the high-class Bāro Bhūiyās of Eastern Bengal and Assam and the Bhūmihār Brāhmaṇs of Bihār and the United Provinces, by some earlier writers including Buchanan in his *Gorakhpore Journal*, although in the passage already quoted from his *Purnea Journal*,¹² he appears to have appreciated the distinction between the aboriginal Bhūiyās and the Bhūmihār Brāhmaṇs. Following Buchanan, Dalton in his account of the Bhūiyās, wrote as follows :—"In a preceding chapter on the population of Assam, I have noticed that a dynasty called the *Bāro-Bhūiyā* once ruled in that Province (Assam), and that the country to the north of the Brahmaputra from one end of the valley to the other, is full of great works ascribed to this people, and the origin of their dynasty is probably alluded to in the tradition given by Buchanan Hamilton in his account of Dinājpur, where it is narrated that twelve distinguished persons of the Bhūṅgiya race came to

10 His father, Kālī Dās Gujdani was a Bais Rājput from Oudh, who became a Muhammadan and received the title of Sulaimān Khān. *Ibid.*, p. 210.

11 The others were Lakshman Manikya of Bhulua, and Hambir Malla of Bishnupur. See *Bāro Bhūiyās*, by Ananda Rāy, pp. 1-3, and *Pratāpāditya Jibancharit*, by Satya Charan Shāstri.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 92.

the Koladyne¹³ river, the boundary between Kāmṛup and the ancient Matsyadeśa, took up their abode there, extended their sway, and executed great works. In Northern and Eastern Bengal and Chōṭā-Nāgpur, the persons now included in the tribe are in the humblest positions of life, performing offices the most degrading, few of them attaining to the dignity of farmers or cultivators of their own fields; but there are grounds for supposing that some of the noblest families in Bengal are sprung from this race and they still hold high positions in the Jungle and Tributary Mahals. The proprietors of the estates surrounding the Paresnāth Hill in the Manbhum and Hāzāribāgh districts, though pretending to be Kshatriyas, are Bhūiyās, and they have not been able to efface the characteristic physical traits of their origin".¹⁴

Dr. James Wise, however, in an article published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*¹⁵ in the years 1875 and 1876, as Risley points out, "worked out with the patience and thoroughness which mark all his researches the obscure history of these twelve Bhūiyās or landlords, and showed that their designation had so little of a tribal character about it that at least one of them was a Mahomedan, they were in fact merely territorial chiefs of portions of Eastern Bengal and Assam." And the researches of Dr. Wise were so convincing that the question was practically settled.

Cunningham in 1884 in his *Archæological Report* for the years 1881-82, wrote :—"I think, Dalton is wrong when he carries them (the Bhūiyās) to Northern Bengal, and makes them the conquerors of Kuch-Bihār and Assam. He has apparently followed Buchanan in confounding the Bhūihārs or Bhūmihārs of Northern Bengal and Bihār

¹³ A corrupt form of *Kalindi*, vide McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 215.

¹⁴ Dalton's *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 139.

¹⁵ 1874, pt. I, p. 197, 1875, pt. I, p. 781.

with the Bhūiyās of Shababad. The latter are an acknowledged aboriginal tribe, while the former profess to be the descendants of Brāhmaṇs who took to agriculture as an occupation. Hence their name of *Bhūmi-hāra* or 'Land-tillers'.....In Barendra, or Northern Bengal, the people still speak of the *Bāro-Bhūiyās* as the former rulers of the country, and I believe they refer to the well-known dynasty of the Pāl Rājās, whose caste or tribal name is never mentioned in the inscriptions."¹⁶

The discarded theory of the identity of the aboriginal Bhūiyā tribe with the historical Bāro-Bhūiyās of Bengal and the legendary Bāro-Bhūiyās of Assam, was recently revived by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar, an Indian writer of some reputation.¹⁷ But it is satisfactory to note that Mr. Mazumdar has since discarded it himself.¹⁸

(iii) Affinities

In his *Account of Ōṛissā* published in 1813, Stirling¹⁹ included the Bhūiyās among the Kōl or Mūṇḍā tribe. He wrote:—"The Coles are divided into thirteen different tribes, viz., Kōl, Lurka Kōl, Chowang, Sarvanti, Dhurowa, Bahuri, Bhūmian or Bhūmiah, Khandwal, Sāntāl, Sour, Bhūmij, Batholi, and Amavat. Their original country is said to be Kolhant Deś, which the natives describe as a hilly tract lying between Moherbañja, Singhabhūm, Jynty Bonye, Kōonjhar, and Dalbhūm; their encroachments on Moherbañja have been felt as serious; some tribes (the Bhūmiahs) are found settled in the back parts of Nilgiri, and from their restless disposition and constant endeavours to extend their possessions, they have

¹⁶ *Archæological Report*, vol. xvii, p. 134.

¹⁷ *Russel's Tribes and Castes*, vol. ii, 306; and *Modern Review* (Calcutta 1907) vol. i, pp. 148-153.

¹⁸ *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. xviii (1932), pp. 51-78. *Man in India*, vol. xii (1932), pp. 330-333.

¹⁹ *An Account, Geographical, Statistical and Historical of Orissa Proper, or Cuttack*, pp. 202-3.

proved troublesome to their neighbours even to the powerful Kēonjhar Rājā. The Coles are a hardy and athletic race, black and ill-favoured in their countenances, ignorant and savage to the last degree, but their houses, built entirely of wood, are said to exhibit a considerable degree of neatness and comfort, and they carry on a very extensive cultivation. Their arms are the bow and arrow, and small iron battle-axe called *Taṅgi*, in the use of which they display much skill and dexterity."

Dalton,²⁰ however, disputed Stirling's classification of the Bhūiyās among the 'Kōl' or Mūṇḍā tribes. He wrote :- "Mr. G. Campbell, in his *Ethnology of India*, suggests that they (the Bhūiyās) are connected with the 'Būis' of Madras and the Central Provinces. This is probable. The Bhūiyā feature is, on the whole, of a Tamulian caste, and it is in the southern frontier of Bengal that we find them in greatest strength and greatest purity. They belong, I daresay, to the southern, rather than to the northern races,—the Dravidian rather than the Kōlarian. They form an important element in the population of Singbhūm. Tradition says, they were once dominant in the western and southern parts of the country, but were subjugated by the 'Hos' (Kōls). In the Tributary States of Gangpur, Bonāi, Kēonjhar, and Bāmṛa, they are almost the only class possessing proprietary rights under the chiefs. They are the barons from whom those chiefs originally derived their authority, and are either the support or the sap of that authority, according to the side they take in the politics of the State. They have, in all these little governments, that useful institution—an opposition. Mr. Stirling, in his account of Ōṛissā, classes them among the Kōls; but there are no grounds that I know of for so connecting them. As I have said above, they appear to me to be linked with the Dravidian rather than the Kōlarian tribes. They were the veritable monkeys that aided Rāma in his invasion of Laṅkā. All the country now

²⁰ *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 140.

occupied by the Bhūiyās is full of traditions of that great hero. He is the favourite god of the Hinduized Bhūiyās—Hanumān, the general of the ape army, was Pawan-kā-put, 'the son of the wind'; and the Bhūiyās to the south of Singbhūm call themselves Pawanbans, the children of the wind, to this day. That they were the apes of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, there can therefore be no doubt."

In his section on "The Bendkārs of Kōonjhar, or Savaras"²¹ Dalton writes :,—"It is difficult to regard them otherwise than as members of the great Bhūiyā family and thus connecting them, we link the Bhūiyās and Savaras, and give support to the conjecture that the former are Dravidian. The Savaras, occupying the country between the Kandh Maliahs or hill tracts and the Godavery, retain a primitive form of speech, but the Bendkār Savaras that I have fallen in with have no language of their own and no tradition that they ever possessed one. The form of speech used is Uriyā, and those living in mixed villages conform to many customs of Hindu Oriyās of inferior castes. The points of difference are, however, very noticeable; for on those points they followed exactly the customs of the Hill Bhūiyās, and the independent Bendkār communities have all the Bhūiyā characteristics....It is in their feasts, festivals, amusements, and methods of bringing about marriage that the points of resemblance between them and the Bhūiyās are most marked."

Dalton's admission that the Savaras belong to the same racial group as the Bhūiyās is really an admission of the 'Kōlarian' or Mūṇḍā origin of the Bhūiyās. For, Sir George Grierson in his *Linguistic Survey of India*²² has proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that the Savara speech is a Mūṇḍā dialect; and the evidence of social customs and physical features, too, appear to indicate the Mūṇḍā affinities of the Savara tribe. In fact, all contemporary authorities

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

²² Vol. XIV, p. 217.

agree that the Savaras are one of the Mūṇḍā or 'Kōl' tribes. Russel, in his *Tribes and Castes*²³ also comes to the conclusion that "the Savaras must be classed as a Mūṇḍā or Kōlarian tribe," and writes—"Since Colonel Dalton identified the Bhūiyās with the Savaras of Chōṭā-Nāgpur, his evidence appears really to be in favour of the Kōlarian origin of the Bhūiyās."

Besides the tribe which goes by the specific name of *Bhūiyā*, there are other tribes and sub-tribes who really form sections of the wide-spread *Bhūiyā* people. I have already referred to the Mūsāhārs of Bihār who are generally acknowledged to be a section of the Bhūiyās. Russel is of opinion that "the Baiga tribe of the Central Provinces are really a branch of the Bhūiyās," and that "the Bhaina, Bhuñjia and Biñjhwar tribes who still reside in this country (Chattisgarh States of the Central Provinces) can all be recognised as offshoots of the Baigas," and that "the Biñjhawars or Biñjhals are an aristocratic subdivision of the Baigas." Crooke writes that "the Bhūiyās of Mirzapore seem to be clearly a branch of the Bhūiyā tribe of Chōṭā-Nāgpur with whom their section-names establish their identity."²⁴ Crooke further writes that "the Bhūiyās are distinguished with great difficulty from the Bhūiyārs with whom they are, doubtless, closely connected."

Sir Herbert Risley in his *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*²⁵ gives the following different names of the Bhūiyā tribe:- "Bhūiyā, Bhūinyā, Bhūinhār, Bhūmiyā, Mūsāhār, Nāik, Khāṇḍāit, Khāṇḍāit Pāik, Ghātāl, Ghātāl, Tikāyat, Rājwār, Rāi-Bhūiyā, Sardār, Purāṇ."

It may be noted that the *Purāṇs* who are identified by Risley with the Bhūiyās²⁶ claim racial affinity with the two

²³ Russel, *Castes and Tribes*, vol. II, p. 311.

²⁴ Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces*, vol. I,

²⁵ Vol. II, Appendix I, p. ii.

²⁶ Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, vol. ii, p. 180, "Purāṇ.....a synonym for Bhūiyā in Mohorbhāṇja."

Mūṇḍā tribes of the Khāria and the Savara. According to the tradition of origin of the Purāṇs which I learnt in Mayūrbhañja, "the semen of Bhagawān (God) fell on the earth and produced an egg like a pea-hen's egg. From the white of this egg sprang the first ancestor of the Purāṇs, from its membranous coating the progenitor of the Savaras, from its shell the first ancestor of the Khārias, and from the yolk the ancestor of the Bhañja Rājās of Mayūrbhañja. This tradition, again lends further support to the Mūṇḍā affinities of the Bhūiyā tribe.

In the latest *Census Report of India* (1931), the Bhūiyās are rightly included by Dr. Hutton among the Kōl group and are lumped together along with the Baigas. Bhainas, Bīñjhuwaras, Bhārias, Bhūmias, Bhūñjias, Ghāṭwārs, Kaḍāras (Bengal), Khetwāris, Navas, and Raos. But presumably by an oversight the Mūsāhār section of the Bhūiyās has been included in the Report among the Dravidian-speaking Ōrāon group.²⁷

(iv) *Sub-divisions of the Tribe.*

Some old Bhūiyās in the Tributary States of Ōṛissā whom I questioned on the subject gave me the following names of the different sections of the tribe: *Deś Bhūiyā* or *Mār* or *Mal Bhūiyā* represented mainly by the *Pāuri Bhūiyās*; *Prajā Bhūiyā*, or *Rāutālī Bhūiyā*; *Bāthuḍī Bhūiyā*; *Sāntāri* or *Sāntālī Bhūiyā*, *Ḍoṇṣḍṇā* or *Ḍandṣena Bhūiyā*; *Rājkuḷī Bhūiyā* or *Bar Bhūiyā*; *Sāontia Bhūiyā*; *Khāṇḍāit Bhūiyā* or *Pabvan-baś Bhūiyā*; *Khāṭhi* or *Kāṭṭi* or *Kāṭṭiāri Bhūiyā*; *Naḱsiyā Bhūiyā*; *Hākṣ²⁸ Bhūiyā*; *Dākṣ Bhūiyā*; *Rikṣiāsal Bhūiyā*; *Mūsāhār Bhūiyā*; and *Ghāṭwār Bhūiyā*. A few of these names such as *Hākṣ Bhūiyā*, *Dākṣ Bhūiyā*, *Meṛhā-tāri*,

²⁷ *Census of India*, 1931, vol. i, part II, *Imperial Tables*, p. 523. vol. ii, pp. 308-9.

It may be noted that there are practically no Savaras in Choṭā-Nāgpur but that their home is in Ōṛissā and in the Ganjam District of the Madras Presidency.

²⁸ "Hāke", it is interesting to note, is a Mūṇḍā word, meaning 'axe'.

and *Naṅsiyā Bhūiyā*, are probably descriptive names or nicknames not definitely applied to any particular tribe or sub-tribe. The term "*Deś Bhūiyā*" appears to be a generic term for the more primitive sections of the Bhūiyās of which the genuine Pāuri Bhūiyās of the hills is the most typical—perhaps now the only—representative. They distinguish themselves from the other sections of the Bhūiyās by adopting the 'bāṅghy' or wooden carrying-pole for their *Santaḷ* or distinctive tribal emblem whereas other sections have either the sword (*khanda*) or the axe for their *Santaḷ*. The bulk of the Plains Bhūiyās are known as Rautāli Bhūiyās and Prajāli Bhūiyās (particularly in the Gangpur State) most of whom have agriculture for their occupation. In the Hāzāribāgh District they are sometimes called Bhūmin Bhūiyās. Those Plains Bhūiyās whose ancestors formed, and some of whom still form, part of the militia of the States they inhabit are known as *Pāik (soldier) Bhūiyās* or *Khaṇḍait (swordsmen) Bhūiyās* or *Khaṇḍait Pāik Bhūiyās*. They go by such titles (Pāris) as Nāik, Ohdār, Pardhān, Ganzhu, Kōṭwār, Raut, Baṛāik, Amāt, etc. The Prajā Bhūiyās and, in some places, the Pāik Bhūiyās have sub-divisions amongst them known severally as *Eksai ghariās* (100 families), *Panchsai ghariās* (500 families) etc. The *Rājḱoli* or *Rājḱuli Bhūiyās* are reputed to have originated from the union of Bhūiyā women with male members of the Rāj families. Many of them are employed as personal servants in the Rāj families and other respectable families. The title 'Pawanbans' or 'Pabanos' (lit., 'offspring of Pawan the God of the Wind') is claimed by some Bhūiyās, and in assertion of their descent from Hanumāna (the son of the Wind-god, Pawan) the devoted follower of Rāmchandra—the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇā*.

The tribal name '*Rikhiāsan Bhūiyā*' is again claimed by many Bhūiyās of the northern section who derive the name from the fact that their ancestors lived on the roots and fruits of the jungle, like the ancient Hindu Munis and Rishis (holy sages). Some Bhūiyās claim that

their original ancestors were actually the ancient *Muns* or *Munis* (holy Hindu sages). And more than one origin myth of the Bhūiyās is based on this supposition. Thus, one such myth which was recounted to me by some Bhūiyās of village Māṇḍu in the Hāzāribāgh District runs as follows : “*Rikh-Mun* (corruption of *Rishi Muni*), our tribal ancestor was one and the same as *Tulsī Bīr* to whom worship is still offered by our Bhūiyās. *Tulsī Bīr* lived at Maner (now in the Patna District). He was the youngest of seven brothers of whom Bhagwān (God) was the eldest. One day while *Tulsī Bīr* with his wooden sandals on, was going to bathe in the Ganges he saw a dead calf in front of the house of his brother Bhagwān. As *Tulsī Bīr* was the youngest he was asked by his eldest brother Bhagwān to throw away the carcass of the calf. *Tulsī Bīr* at first declined to do so on the ground that it would mean ceremonial pollution and social degradation. But Bhagwān said, “No : if you take a bath after throwing away the carcass, you will be purified and we shall eat with you.” And so *Tulsī Bīr* did as he was told to do. On his return after bath he found that a plantain tree had in the meanwhile shot up over the spot where the carcass had been thrown away. And before he could leave the spot the tree grew up to its full height and bore fruit and the fruit ripened. *Rikhmun* ate the fruit and went back to his brothers and told what happened. The brothers told him, “you have eaten beef. So we won’t eat with you.” *Tulsī Bīr* protested and said he had not eaten beef. Bhagwān said, “All right : let me test you.” And Bhagwān placed five fruits on his neck. And thereupon five lumps of beef came out of *Tulsī Bīr*’s mouth. Since then nobody would eat with him, and he became ‘*Rikh Mūn*’ whereas his other brothers became higher *Mūn*, such as *Suruj Mūn* (the Sun God), *Chandramā* (the Moon-deity), and *Devī*. *Rikh-mūn*’s descendants—the Bhūiyās—migrated from Maner to different places and became *Suruj-baṁśīs*, *Chandra-baṁśīs*, etc. *Tulsī Bīr* is the highest of the *Bīras* or ancestral gods of these Bhūiyās.

The Rājwārs, it may be noted, have a similar origin myth. Buchanan informs us that the Rājwārs of Bihar told him "that their common ancestor was a certain Rishi who had two sons. From the eldest are descended the Rājwārs, who became soldiers and obtained their noble title ; from the younger are descended the Mūsāhārs, who have obtained their name from eating rats, which the Rājwārs reject."

Some Mūsāhārs of village Hāsānpur in thana Fulwārī of the Patna District gave me the following tradition of their origin. "We are the descendants of Rikh-Mūn. Rikh-Mūn dived into the ocean in search of something. He came out with some dirt. Out of that dirt were born the Mūsāhārs. Our ancestors originally lived in hill-ranges."

The name *Santāri Bhūiyā* would appear to refer to the Sāntāl tribe whose racial affinity with the Bhūiyās is thus recognised by the Bhūiyās themselves. Similarly the name *Bāthūḍi-Bhūiyā* obviously refers to the Bāthūḍi tribe (numbering 72,893 in the Census of 1931) found mainly in the Mayūrbhañja (45,049) and Kēonjhar (23,637) States besides some (4,202) in the Nilgiri State and two stray individuals in the Athmalik, two in the Bāmra and one in the Gāngpur States of Ōṛissā. Regarding the *Bāthūḍis* the only information given by Risley is that they form "a small aboriginal tribe of uncertain origin found in the Tributary States of Ōṛissā."²⁹ Their population has not been separately enumerated in the Census. My own investigation into the religion and customs of the Bāthūḍis of the Mayūrbhañja State have led me to the conclusion that the Bāthūḍis are really a Hinduised branch of the Bhūiyā tribe. They have come sufficiently under the influence of Hinduism so as to accept the services of Brāhmaṇ priests to solemnise their marriages. They also recognise a tribal head styled *Mahāpātra* and his assistant styled *Bara-Nāyak*, both appointed by the State and a similarly appointed Brāhmaṇa 'spiritual' superior styled 'Brahmā' whose directions must be

29 *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, vol. i, p. 77.

followed as to the method of expiation for the sin which a family may incur by such happenings as the death of one of their women in pregnancy (*strī-badh*) and the accidental death of a cow (*go-badh*).

The *Sāontia Bhūiyā* of the list given above obviously refers to the agricultural tribe or sub-tribe of *Sāontis* who, too, though locally regarded as a separate tribe would appear to be another Hinduised section of the *Bhūiyās*. Neither Risley nor the Census Reports make any mention of them. From my investigations amongst them in some Tributary States of Ōṛissā, I am led to the conclusion that the *Sāontis*, like the *Bāthūḍis*, form branches of the great *Bhūiyā* tribe. In physical features they exhibit no marked difference from the *Bhūiyās*. In characteristic cultural traits, too, they resemble the *Bhūiyās*. Both the *Sāontis* and the *Bāthūḍis* have the same *Chāngu nāt* or characteristic dances to the tune of the *Chāngu* drum as the *Bhūiyās* have. *Sāonti* and *Bāthūḍi* maidens like their *Pāurī Bhūiyā* sisters, go to their neighbouring villages to dance with the *Bāthūḍi* youth of those villages. The *Sāontis* and the *Bāthūḍis*, like the *Pāuris*, are fond of eating the small flying insects locally called 'kalai pok.' Their tribal heads called 'Beherās' are appointed by the State. But the *Sāontis* have been Hinduised to such an extent as to claim to belong to the Zamindar 'hūda.' In social matters they are governed by the decisions of an officer of their own tribe appointed by the Rāja and styled the 'Berājal.' The office ordinarily descends to the eldest son of the last holder. The *Berājal* has the unique privilege of riding a palanquin within the State. In social customs and in worship, the *Sāontis* have much in common with the *Bāthūḍis* and the Hinduised *Bhūiyās*. The *Rājwārs* are generally recognised as a branch of the *Bhūiyās*.

Buchanan records a tradition that he obtained from certain *Rājwārs* in Bihār that "their common ancestor was a certain Rishi, who had two sons ; from the eldest are descended the *Rājwārs*, who became soldiers and obtain-

ed their noble title; from the younger are descended the *Mūsāhārs*, who have obtained their name from eating rats, which *Rājwārs* reject."

Leaving aside such communities as the *Sāontis*, the *Bāthūdis* and the Hinduised *Rājwārs* and the depressed and lowly *Mūsāhārs* who are now all well on the road to recognition as separate tribes or castes, the *Bhūiyās* proper may be roughly classified into the following divisions :— (1) the primitive *Deś Bhūiyā* represented mainly by the *Pāuri* or *Hill Bhūiyā* of the hills of *Kōonjhar*, *Bonai* and *Pal Lahera States*; (2) the quasi-military *Khaṇḍāit Bhūiyā* *Chōṭā-Nāgpur*; (3) the mixed *Rājcoli* or *Rajkuli Bhūiyās* of the *Ōṛissā State*; (4) the *Prajā Bhūiyā* or *Rāutāli Bhūiyās* of *Ōṛissā* and South-eastern *Chōṭā-Nāgpur* who live by agriculture or, in some cases by agricultural labour; and (5) the land-holding *Ghāṭwār Bhūiyā* or *Ṭikāit Bhūiyā* or *Rāi Bhūiyā* of the *Sāntāl Parganās*, *Hāzāribāgh*, *Gayā*, *Monghyr* and *Bhāgalpur Districts*, who generally wear the sacred thread and call themselves *Surujbamśi Rājputs*.

Although there is very little difference in the physical characteristics and anthropometrical indices of the 'Kōl' or 'Mūṇḍā' affinities of the 'Kōlarian' or Mūṇḍā-speaking tribes on the one hand, and the Draviḍian-speaking hill-tribes on the other,—and both the groups should properly be classed as pre-Draviḍians,—the cultural characteristics of the two groups exhibit marked differences in some respects. And the cultural affinities of the *Bhūiyās* are with the *Mūṇḍā* tribes of the Central Belt of India, and not with the Draviḍian-speaking tribes of the South. In fact, *Mūṇḍā* or 'Kōl' culture elements are prominently in evidence among the *Bhūiyās* although they are overlaid more or less by a thin veneer of Hindu culture varying in density according to the social position of the particular section or family. The cult of ancestral spirits or 'house-spirits' (*ōṛābōṅgā* of the *Mūṇḍā* tribes) who are ceremonially conducted to the house after burial or cremation, as the

case may be, of a dead person and installed in a special tabernacle (*āding* of the Mūṇḍās and the Hōs and *Bhitar* of most other tribes) inside the house, the cult of the spirit of their ancestral hill (*būrū-bōngā* and *Pāt*), the use of stone in burial, which are among the distinctive features of Mūṇḍā culture, may still be seen in full vigour among the Pāuṛis or *Hill Bhūiyās* of the Orissā States, and in more or less mutilated or attenuated forms among the more sophisticated Plains Bhūiyās. 'Elopement marriage' and 'seizure marriage' which are marked features of Pāuṛi Bhūiyā culture have their analogues among most other Mūṇḍā-speaking tribes. Among other cultural traits which the Bhūiyās share with other 'Kōl' or 'Mūṇḍā' tribes, the following may be mentioned :—the general features of village organization and federation of a group of villages, the general features of kingship organization and kingship nomenclature; several customs appertaining to birth, childhood, adolescence, marriage and death; the custom which requires the headman of a group of federated villages to take the first morsel of food in a tribal feast; the practice of taking oath on a tiger's skin or by touching earth, and the trial of a suspected delinquent by the ordeal of dipping the hand in boiling liquid or carrying a red-hot iron on the hands. The worship of Bīrs or hero-gods (such as *Tulsī Bīr*, *Hanumān Bīr*, *Basār Bīr*, *Lādu Bīr*, *Barchhi Bīr*, etc.,) among some sections of the northern Bhūiyās would appear to be a special development and extension of the Mūṇḍā cult of ancestor-spirits.³⁰

30 A detailed account of the most primitive section of the Bhūiyās and short references to the other sections of the tribe will be found in the present writer's forth-coming monograph on *The Hill Bhūiyās of Orissa*, 1935, (*Man in India Office*, Ranchi).



SANSKRIT PALM-LEAF MSS. IN TIBET

By Tripiṭakācharya Rāhula Sāṅkṛityāna

During my last journey to Tibet in 1929-30, I was able to collect a mass of Tibetan works, either originally translated from Sanskrit or Indian Vernaculars, or original works composed by Tibetan scholars themselves. Though I had heard numerous rumours about the existence of Sanskrit Palm-leaf MSS, but after search I found them unfounded. After several trials I drew the conclusion, that there was hardly much of a possibility of getting Palm-leaf MSS. in Tibet. But on my return, while studying the materials thus collected there for my little monograph in Hindi entitled "A Short History of Buddhism in Tibet" (तिब्बतमें बौद्धधर्म), I felt convinced about the existence of them, at least a hundred in number.

Last time, after my return from Tibet, I felt it necessary to restore some of the great works of the Buddhist logicians, from Tibetan to Sanskrit. In fact I was restoring the Pramāṇa-Vārtika of Dharmakīrti, when a friend of mine wrote to me that the work in original Sanskrit was discovered by the Royal Preceptor Paṇḍita Hemarāja Sarman of Nepal, whose knowledge of Sanskrit is encyclopædic and love for it, proverbial; so I gave up the tasks and thought it prudent to see first those Sanskrit MSS. which were still preserved in Tibet, before taking any restoration work, lest it might prove an useless labour after the discovery of the original MSS. One thing that prompted me to under

take the second tour of Tibet was to search for those ancient Palm-leaf MSS. originally taken from India. I remained on Tibetan soil from April 4, till November 10, 1934—about six and a half months.

Though the import of palm-leaf MSS. begins from the middle of the seventh century during the reign of the Emperor Srong-btsan-sgam-po (630-693 A.D.) their number was very few. Intense activity in the field of translation is witnessed during four centuries, viz., from the middle of the ninth century to the middle of the thirteenth century. During this period many thousands of palm-leaf MSS. were taken to Tibet, and in the normal course, they ought to be found there. But we know that great monasteries of Bsam-yas and Tho-gling (near Mansarowar) were destroyed by fire, in which many precious collections were burnt. Though the monastery of Sa-skya, where many hundreds of Sanskrit books were translated into Tibetan, was never destroyed after its ascendance, yet, later hierarchs did not care for these MSS. which had no meaning for them; and, they allowed the scholars of their sect to take the MSS. away to their monasteries. In fact, the MSS. which are found in the monasteries of Sha-lu and Ngor, originally belonged to Sa-skya. There are two other causes which are responsible for the disappearance of the MSS. The devout people consider it a great meritorious deed to enshrine the palm-leaf MSS. inside a stūpa or image. In this way hundreds of books are now beyond our reach. I heard at Sa-skya that a palm-leaf MS. copy of Dharmakīrti's great work *Pramāṇa-vārtika* is enshrined inside an image of him, kept in one of the chapels of the Lha-khang-chen-mo

of Sa-skyā. A few years back, an old stucco image in Bsam-yas had fallen down and inside it many such MSS. were found. The image was reconstructed and MSS. were put back into it again. The other practice is more atrocious. In some of these monasteries Lamas cut the MSS. in pieces and offer them to those pilgrims who bring rich presents. These small pieces are said to possess the miraculous power of healing all kinds of diseases when a drop of water in which the piece has been dipped is administered to the patient.

After reaching Lhasa on the 19th May, 1934, I began to search for MSS. The first MS. I saw was a commentary (पञ्जिका) on the Śiśupāla-badham of Māgha by Bhavadatta, along with a few pages of a grammatical work. These MSS. were afterwards purchased and now they are preserved in Patna Museum. Next to that, a Palm-leaf MS. of a commentary on Abhisamayālaṅkāra by Buddhaśrījñāna (a co-student of the Ācārya Haribhadra, the famous commentator of several philosophical treatises, and a disciple of the Ācārya Śāntarakṣita) was brought to me. Its size is $12\frac{3}{4}'' \times 2''$ and contains 27 leaves. The owner was reluctant to disclose his name, but he allowed it to be photographed. I saw a copy of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñā-Pāramitā with a Nepalese merchant, written in Rañjana character, and more than a hundred pages of the Satasāharikā Prajñā-Pāramitā, the latter being the property of the heirs of the late Tergi-Thai-Je. Though they were of no great importance, yet they encouraged me to further pursuit. I was very much helped by the enlightened Sā-ku-śo of the feudal house of Zur-khang, whose mother is the direct descendant of Srong-btsan-

sgam-po (630-693 A.D.), the first emperor and maker of Tibet. One day, the second (brother) Sā-ku-śo of Zur-khang brought the news, that they have got some palm-leaf MSS. in the library of Kun-bde-gling monastery, which were recently discovered while they were preparing a catalogue of the books. On the 18th June, he took me to that monastery which is not far from the famous POTALA PALACE. Only two MSS. were shown, and my joy knew no bounds when I found one of them to be a commentary on the Vādanyāya of Dharmakīrti by Ācārya Śāntarakṣita, the famous author of the Tatvasaṅgraha. I found it difficult to persuade the authorities to allow me to take a photograph of the work; and I was advised to see the Ka-lon Lama, one of the four Ministers of the Tibetan Government. When he heard of my mission, he appreciated it very much, and at once sent for the officer-in-charge. He ordered that I should be allowed to take photographs of any MS. I thought useful. Ka-lon Lama also told me, that he would issue a general permit from the Cabinet to get help from all local authorities as well as private individuals. After the death of Dalai Lama, he was the most influential man in Tibet, but he also died a few days afterwards, which is an irreparable loss to Tibet.

I had heard from Re-ḍing-rin-po-che, the Regent King of Tibet, that his monastery possesses a half-burnt palm-leaf MS. which originally belonged to the collection of books which the Ācārya Dipaṅkara Śrījñāna (982-1054 A.D.) brought with him from India. I was very keen to see that MS. and the Regent gave me a letter to the officer-in-charge of his monastery, but

owing to a serious omission in the letter, the officer could not show it to me. I was informed that it was a half-burnt copy of the *Prajñā-pāramitā*.

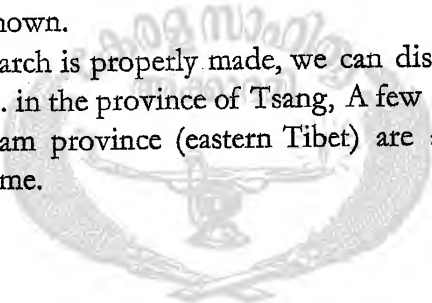
After my return from Re-ḍing, I intended to visit Lho-kha Province, where in the monasteries of Bsam-yas and Smin-ḍo-gling I heard about the existence of some MSS. About Bsam-yas, I was told that it has got two or three palm-leaf MSS. which are in the custody of the local magistrate (Dzong), and it is not possible to see them without a special permission of the Cabinet. The Chief Lama of Smin-ḍo-gling, who is also one of the heads of *Ñig-ma-pa* sect, told me that his monastery possessed four MSS. He was very eager to take me to his monastery which is only two days' journey from Lhasa. But as I had spent more than a month in the hope of getting the letter from the Cabinet, there was little time left at my disposal. Moreover, I heard that those four MSS. are duplicate copies of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, and *Karuṇā-puṇḍarika*(?). In Lho-kha, some of the monasteries belonging to Sa-skyā sect may possess palm-leaf MSS., but their number will not be considerable.

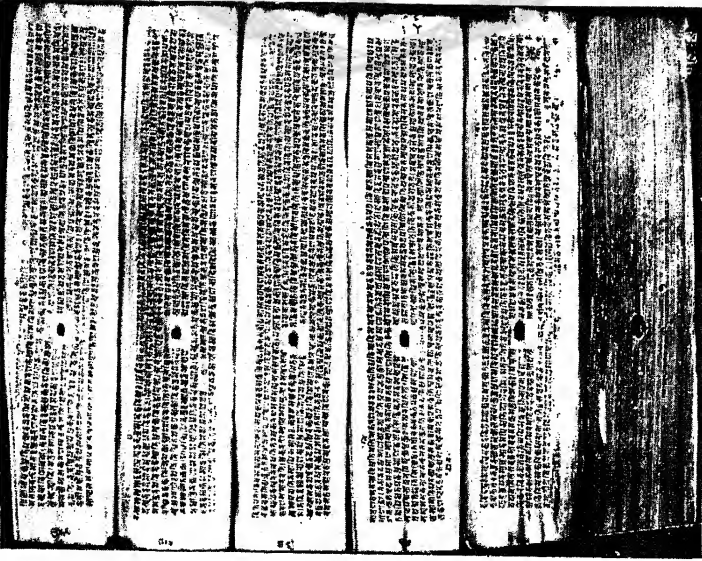
Information received from reliable sources disclosed the possibility of the existence of many MSS. in the monasteries of Tsang. Finding that there would still be much delay in getting the permit from the Cabinet, and as winter was approaching, I left for Tsang. I visited some of the ancient monasteries of that province. In the monasteries of Spos-khang-tshog-pa (one day's journey from Gyan-tse), Sha-lu (a few hour's journey from Shi-ga-rtse on Gyantse side), Ngor (one day's journey from Shi-ga-rtse) and Sa-skyā, I saw some of

the MSS. which are described in the following pages. The list of the MSS. in Şha-Lu monastery is not complete. I was told that there are still some palm-leaf MSS. in the heap of Tibetan MSS. which are stored in a big room there and many more hands are required to sort them out than what they possessed at that time.

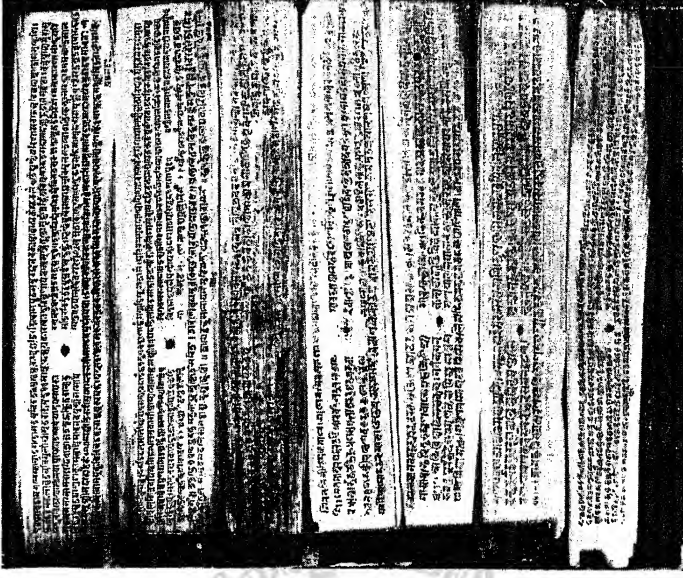
The people, who had seen them with their own eyes, told me that Ña-rig-ri-phug monastery (about half a day's journey from Shi-ga-rtse) possesses two palm-leaf MSS. At Ngor I met a Lama of the 'Thub-rtan-rnam-rgyal monastery of Rta-nag (two days' journey from Shi-ga-rtse) who told me that his monastery possesses two palm-leaf MSS. The contents of these four MSS. are not known.

If a search is properly made, we can discover some more MSS. in the province of Tsang. A few monasteries of the Kham province (eastern Tibet) are also said to possess some.





Pages of the *Vāda-Niṣāya*



Pages of different Sanskrit manuscripts in Tibet

I. Kun-de-ling monastery (Lhasa)

Vol. No.	Name	Author	Script	Size (in inches)	Leaves	Lines (in each page)
I	1. अष्टसाहसिका-T प्रज्ञापारमिता ¹		मगधी	..	..	6
II	2. सद्धर्मपुण्डरीकसूत्र ² T		"	..	..	5
III	3. वादन्यायटीका ³ T (विपश्चित्तार्थ) ⁴	शांतरक्षित	(कुटिला)	11½ x 2½	90	(8 or 9)

T. Preserved in Tibetan Translation.

¹ Colophone runs—".....प्रबद्धमानश्रीमत्सहीपाल (974-1026 A.D.) कल्याणं भूय (?) राज्ये सम्बत्...."

² In the Colophone—".....सम्बत् आ.....(N.E. 200? = 980? A. D.)

³ In the Colophone (Page 89b) — "कृतिरियं शान्तरिक्ष [? ० रक्षित] पादानामिति सम्बत् आबू 2 (272 ? or 1132 A. D.) श्रावणकुण्ठ एकादस्यां लिखितं मया । राजाधिराजपरमेस्वरपरमभट्टारकः श्रीमदानन्ददेवपादीयविजयराज्ये शुभदिने ॥ ग्रन्थस्यास्य प्रमाणञ्च नियुतैर्वराताधिकं । सहस्रद्वितयं सम्यक्संख्यातम्पूर्वशूरिभिः ॥...."

⁴ Stan-gyur Mdo CIL. 2, CXII. 4.

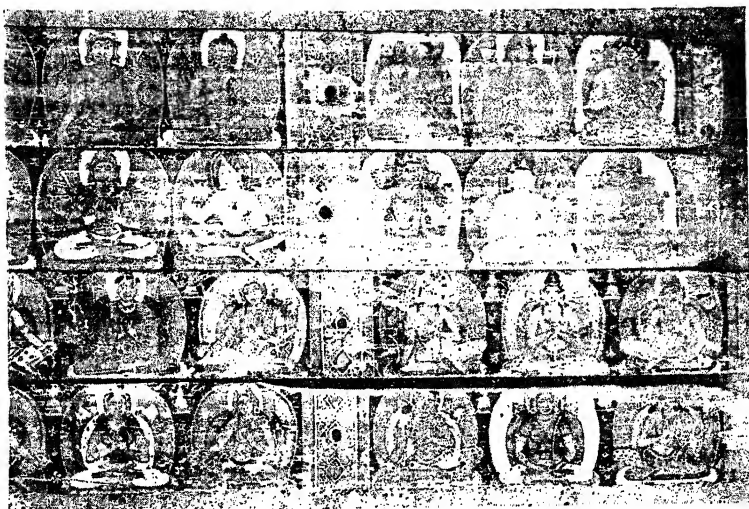
II. Spos-khang monastery (near Gyantse)

I	4.	अष्टसाहस्रिका- प्रज्ञापारमिता T and others	..	..	Incomplete
II	5.	A Commentary on some सर्वास्तिवाद Sūtras	अश्वघोष ¹	..	..
	6.	... परिकथा	..	..	..
III	1.	मध्यान्तविमंगलकारिका T	..	..	..
	2.	मध्यान्तविमंगलसूत्र T	मेनेय	नेवारी	..
	3.	अभिसमयालंकार T	..	..	..
	4.	अभिसमयालंकार T	..	..	..

III. Śa-lu monastery (near Si-ga-tse)

I	10.	समाधिराजसूत्र ³ T	10X2 $\frac{1}{2}$	Incomplete
II	2.	काशिका पञ्चिका	जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि	..
III	3.	भिक्षुप्रकीर्णकवित्तय ⁴	वर्तुल	Complete
		
			21 $\frac{1}{2}$ X2 $\frac{1}{2}$	..

¹In the Colophone—"सर्वास्तिवादी शाक्यभिक्षु अश्वघोषः...।"²Written on paper.³This book originally belonged to Bya-yul-lo-tsa-va (1201 A. D.)⁴In the Colophone—"आर्यमहासाधिकानां लोकोत्तरवादिनाम्।"



Illustrations of wooden covers of Indian MSS in Tibet
(Kun. de. gling monastery)



Spos-khang



Ngor



Ṣa-hu

Volumes of Indian MSS in Tibet

IV	4.	Miscellaneous leaves	..	21 $\frac{1}{2}$ X 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	..
V	5.	महाप्रतिसरा विद्यारानीकल्प ¹ etc. T	..		..
		(पञ्चरक्षा)	..		..
VI	1.	प्रज्ञापारमिता (?)	नेवारी	23 $\frac{1}{2}$ X 2	Incomplete
	2.	संजुश्रीनामसंगीति T	रंजन	12 $\frac{9}{10}$ X 2	..
	3.	व्याकरण (लिप्ता)	वर्तुल	"	"
	4.	रक्तयमारितंत्र T	नेवारी	"	"
VII	1.	अष्टसाहसिका प्रज्ञापारमिता T	वर्तुल	"	Complete
	2.	अभिसमयालंकारविवृति T (?)	रंजन	20 X 2	Incomplete
VIII	1.	सर्वज्ञसिद्धि	वर्तुल	"	..
	2.	अपोहसिद्धिप्रकरण*	रत्नकीर्ति पुराणमैथिली	21 $\frac{1}{2}$ X 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	Complete
	3.	क्षणसंगसिद्धि*	"	1-17	..
	4.	प्रमाणान्तर्भवप्रकरण	"	18-36	"
	5.	व्याप्तिनिर्णय	"	37-45	"
	6.	स्थिरसिद्धिदूषण	"	45-47	"
			"	47-59	"
			"	59-69	"

¹In the Colophon—"सम्वत् ४०२ (N. E.=1282 A. D.) पौषकृष्णदशम्यां सोमवासरे श्रीमहाराजपरमेश्वर

परमभटारिक श्री श्री अक्षतमल्लदेवस्य विजयराजे ।"

*These works are already published in the Bibliotheca Indica.

7.	27.	चित्ताद्वैतप्रकरणवाद	"	"	69-77	..	Complete
8.	28.	अवयविनिराकरण ¹	"	"	77-82	..	"
9.	29.	सामान्यनिराकरण	"	"	82-91	..	"
IX							
	30.	पञ्चविंशतिसाहस्रिकाप्रज्ञा					
		पारमितीपदेश ²	बुद्धदास (आचार्य)	वर्तुल	21½×2	107	"
X							
1.	31.	भट्टारकवज्रासतसाधनोपदेश ³ etc. ..	वर्तुल		20½×2	39	"
2.	32.	वज्रामृततन्त्र T	..	"	"	8	"
3.	33.	..... पञ्जिका	भीमदेव	"	"	7	"
4.	34.	अचिन्त्याद्वयक्रमोपदेश T	आर्यकुण्डालियाद	"	"	3-8	Incomplete
5.	35.	समयमुद्रापुरुषकार	नागार्जुन	"	"	3	Complete
6.	36.	महागोव्यतत्त्वोपदेश ⁴ T	दारिकपाद	"	"	1	"
7.	37.	ज्ञानसारसमुच्चय T	आर्यदेव	"	"	3	"

¹ The work is already published in the Bibliotheca Indica.

² In the Colophone—“पडितस्थविराणाकरगुप्तशिष्यस्य शुभाकरगुप्तस्य ।”

³ The owner of the Ms. was the translator Ba-ri Rin-chen-grub (1102-1111 A. D.)

⁴ गृह्यतत्त्वोपदेश in T

XI	8.	38.	श्रीसंवरस्तोत्रटीका	वज्रपाणि ¹	"	"	47	..	Incomplete
	I.	39.	...महायानसूत्र	..	"	$20\frac{2}{3} \times 2\frac{1}{3}$	..	..	"
	2.	40.	महायानविशिका T	नागार्जुन	शारदा	"	..	..	"
	3.	41.	...	प्रशान्तमित्र	..	"	..	..	"
	4.	42.	रत्नगुणसञ्चयगाथा T	हरिभद्र	..	"	..	..	"
			—व्याख्या ²						
	5.	43.	महायानोत्तरतन्त्र T	(मंत्रेयनाथ) शारदा	"	"	..	..	"
	6.	44.	सूत्रालंकार(वि)भंग ³	..	"	"	..	..	"
	7.	45.	अभिसमयालंकार प्रज्ञोपदेशशास्त्र	..	वर्तुल	"	..	..	"
	8.	46.	अभिसमयालंकारालोक T	(हरिभद्र)	पुराण नगरी $20\frac{2}{3} \times 2\frac{1}{3}$	"	..	..	"
			IV. Ngot monastery (one day's journey from Si-gar-tse)						
I	1.	47.	अर्थविनिश्चयसूत्र T	..	वर्तुल	$22\frac{2}{3} \times 2$	16	..	page 13 missing
	2.	48.	अर्थविनिश्चयसूत्रनिबंधन ¹	वीर्यश्रीवल्ल	"	"	44	..	Complete
	3.	49.	सूतडामरतंत्र T	..	"	"	23	..	Incomplete

¹The Indian paṇḍita (1066 A. D.), teacher of the translator Ba-ri-lo-tsa-va.

²भवद्गुणरत्नसंयगाध्यापजिका in T

³Owner of this book was the Indian paṇḍita मणिकश्रीज्ञान, a contemporary of Bu-ston (1290-1364 A. D.)

⁴The Colophone says—“आसीत्सौगतो नाथः प्रजायाः पृथुविक्रमः । धर्मं पाल (740-800 A. D.) इति ख्यातो राज्ञे तस्य महोदये ॥ श्रीनालन्दाविहारे स्मिन् कृतिभिर्दुर्जितेन्द्रियः । वीर्यश्रीदत्तनाम्नेदं कृतं तेन निबन्धनं ॥ त्रयोदशशतान्यस्य श्लोकाश्च पञ्चसप्ततिः ।”

4.	50.	भूतडासरभट्टारकसाधन	..	"	$22\frac{2}{3} \times 2$	8	..	Complete
5.	51.	भूतडासरमण्डलोपयिक ¹	सुभूतिपालित ²	"	"	13	..	"
6.	52.	कुरुकुल्लालय	..	"	"	10	..	"
7.	53.	आदिकर्मवितार	मंजुकीर्ति ³	मागधी	"	13	..	"
8.	54.	बुद्ध... (पूजाविधि)	"	..	"	10	..	"
9.	55.	आदिकर्मवितारप्रतिबद्ध	"	..	"	5	..	"
II	56.	अष्टसाहस्रिकाप्रज्ञापारमिता ⁴	T	रंजन	$22\frac{2}{3} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$	3-207	6	Incomplete
III	57.	" ⁵ T	..	"	$22\frac{2}{3} \times 2$	174	6	Complete
IV	58.	" ⁶ T	..	"	$22 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$	233	6	"
V	59.	अष्टसाहस्रिकाप्रज्ञापारमिता ⁸	T	रंजन	$21\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$	..	5	Incomplete

¹In the Colophone—"...सम्बत् ५१ पौषदिनं पुस्तकेयं भिक्षुशीलाकरभुतस्य ।"

²"महापंडितमहामंडलाचार्य ।"

³"पण्डितस्थविर ।"

⁴The last leaf and two wooden covers have beautiful paintings.

⁵Beautiful paintings on three leaves and two wooden covers.

⁶In the Colophone—"योगीन्द्रगंगडी । शिखिनेत्रयुते वह्नौ (323 N. E.=1203 A. D) गते नेपालवत्सरे । राज्ञो ह्ये (?) रिमलदेवस्य ह्याते सुकीर्तिमालिनः ॥ मासे दुस्थिति सितेपक्षे दशम्याम्बुधवासरे ।"

⁷Beautiful paintings on five leaves and two wooden covers.

⁸In the Colophone—"सौराजभद्रमुतस्य परमोपासकरिसोकस्य यदशपुण्यं... महाराजाधिराज... क परमसौगत श्रीमद्रामपालदेव (1078-1120 A. D.) प्रबर्द्धमानविजयराजसम्बत् ८ जेष्ठदिने ६ केंडगलकोदो लिखितेयं...।"

VI	60.	अष्टसाहसिका प्र० पा० ¹ T	..	मगधी	14×2 $\frac{1}{2}$	..	6	Incomplete
VII	1.	61. " " ² T	..	"	22×2 $\frac{3}{8}$	202	6	Complete
	2.	62. व्याकरण (?)	..	"	"	10	7	Incomplete
VIII	1.	63. अष्टसाहसिकाप्रज्ञापारमिता T	..	रंजन	21 $\frac{1}{8}$ ×2	..	5	"
	2.	64. "	..	"	"	..	5	"
	3.	65. ... (काव्य-) टीका	..	कुदिला	"	..	6	"
	4.	66. (दर्शनग्रंथ)	..	"	"	4	6	"
	5.	67. एकवृत्तादिटीका	..	"	21 $\frac{1}{8}$ ×1 $\frac{1}{8}$	2	4	"
	6.	68. महायानोत्तरतंत्र T	..	(नैत्रेयनाथ)	21 $\frac{1}{8}$ ×2	11	7	"
	7.	69. (दर्शनग्रंथ)	..	"	"	3	8	"
	8.	70. प्रकरणयोगपीठ	..	"	"	5	5	"
	9.	71. चक्रसंवरविवृति	..	"	"	..	8, 11	"

¹ In the Colophone—"...महायानयाधिनः परमोपासक जयपुरीय साधु श्रीपरशरसुत साधु श्रीमूर्तिधरस्य...सम्बत् १३३४ (1277 A. D.) श्रीकोनगरे श्री व न रा ज देवस्य विजयराज्ये...फाल्गुण दिने ३० बुधवारे पूर्णिमायातिथौ पूर्वफाल्गुनी-नक्षत्रे सिंहराशौ चन्द्रे ।"

² In the Colophone—"सम्बत् अष्टत (283 N. E.=1163 A. D.) भाद्रपदश्रीमच्छंकरदेवराज्ञे श्रीलज्जुक (?) वास्तव्य गंगाराणकेन लिखितेयमिति ।" ... In 2 later ink—"सम्बत् थ छ ९ (289 N. E.=1169 A. D.) फाल्गुण कृष्णाष्टम्यां शुक्रदिने जेष्ठनक्षत्रे मीनसंक्रान्ति महापर्वनि प्रसस्तानि ।"

IX	10.	72.	गुह्यसमाज T	..	कुटिल	21½×1½	33	6	Incomplete
X		73.	शतसाहसिका प्रज्ञा पारमिता ¹ T	..	रंजन	22½×2½	639	6	" ²
	1.	74.	न्यायविन्दु अनुटीका (धर्मोत्तरप्रदीप ³)	दुर्वैकमिश्र	मागधी	"	84	8	Complete
	2.	75.	(हेतुविन्दु-अनुटीका) ⁴	"	"	"	70	8	"
XI	1.	76.	महामन्त्रानुसारिणी महाविद्यारत्नी ⁵ T	..	रंजन	21½×2	1-10	6	Illustrated
	2.	77.	महासहस्रप्रमर्दिनी ⁵ T	..	"	"	-17	"	"
	3.	78.	महाभायूरी विद्यारत्नी ⁵ T	..	"	"	-40	"	"
	4.	79.	सीतवती महाविद्यारत्नी ⁵ T	..	"	"	-42	"	"
	5.	80.	महाप्रतिसरा महाविद्यारत्नी ⁵ T	..	"	"	-58	"	"

¹ The last leaf and wooden cover have multi-colour paintings.

² Begins from Chapter xxxviii.

³ A sub-commentary on Dharmottara's gloss on Dharmakīrti's work न्यायविन्दु ।

⁴ A sub-commentary on Dharmākaradatta's gloss on Dharmakīrti's work हेतुविन्दु ।

⁵ They are also called पंचरक्षा ।

⁶ In the Colophone—“शाक्यभिक्षोः स्थविर ज या क र गु प्त स्य ... कल्याणसहस्रभाजनस्य प र म सौ ग त श्रीमद् गोविन्दचन्द्रदेव (1110-5) A. D.) स्य प्रबर्द्धमान विजयरा ... सम्बत्सरे लिख्यमानं श्रामणमासि शुक्लपक्षे पञ्चम्यान्तिथौ बृहस्पतिवारे चित्रनक्षत्रे श्रीविक्रम ... ।”

	6.	81.	महाकालतंत्र T	..	मागधी	"	37	"	Incomplete
XII	1.	82.	(चांद्रव्याकरणटीका, मुबल्ल)	..	मागधी	21 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	16	5	"
	2.	83.	कलापवृत्ति T	दुर्गासिंह	मैथिली	"	88	7	"
XIII		84.	क्रियासमुच्चय ¹	मंजुग... ¹	नेवारी	13 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	333	7	Complete
XIV		85.	कालचक्रतंत्र ² T	..	..	12 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 2	120	6	"
XV	1.	86.	सांख्यविनिर्चय from अभिधर्मसमुच्चयशास्त्र T (यसोपनित्र)	..	मागधी	11 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	149	6	"
	2.	87.	(अर्थ) विनिर्चयसूत्र T	..	"	"	7	7	"
	3.	88.	(अर्थ) विनिर्चयसूत्रनिबन्धन T	वीर्यश्रीवत्त ³	"	"	41	9	"
	4.	89.	छन्दोरत्नाकर T	रत्नाकरशान्तिपाद ⁴	मैथिली	"	27	6	"
XVI		90.	भाषावृत्ति	पुरुषोत्तमदेव	"	12 × 2	..	7, 8	Complete (?)

1 "महामंडलाचार्य पंडित" In the Colophone—"सम्बत् ४२५ (N. E.=1305 A. D.) फाल्गुणसुद्धि त्रयोदस्या तिथौ आदित्यवत्सरे मघनखते ... (donor) स्वयम्भूवज भगवत् परिनिवृत्तेऽष्टाधिकाष्टादशशते त्रयोविंशति (1823 ?) वरसाधिके दिवसाधिके षण्मासाधिके परमोपासक श्रीमुक्तिदासेन लिखितम् ।"

2 In the Colophone—"सम्बत् ३१० (310 N. E.=1190 A. D.) श्रावण शुक्ल ... ।" It is preserved in Nepal Darbar Library (New Series) तै. 292,602.

3 In the Colophone—"आसीत्सीगतौ नाथः प्रजायाः पृथुविग्रहः । धर्मपाल इति ख्यातो राज्ञो तस्य महोदये । श्रीनालदा विहारेस्मिन् भूतो भिक्षुजितेन्द्रियः । वीर्यश्रीवत्त नाम्नेदं कृतं तेन निबन्धनम् । अलेखि श्रावणे शुक्ले रश्मिवज्राग्नि (310 N. E.=1190 A. D.) हायने ।"

4 "कलिकालसर्वज्ञ ।"

XVII	1.	91.	हेवज्रटिप्पण	सरोखवज्र	मागधी	11 1/3 x 2 1/8	31	7	Complete
	2.	92.	हेवज्रटीका ¹	..	"	"	31	7	"
	3.	93.	हेवज्रसाधन (तत्त्वावतार)	..	"	"	13	7	"
XVIII	1.	94.	पंचक्रम T	मागजुन	नेवारी	12 1/2 x 2 1/8	1-13	9	"
	2.	95.	वज्रसत्त्वसाधन T	चन्द्रकीर्ति	"	"	-19	"	"
	3.	96.	अनुत्तरसंवर	शाक्यमित्र	"	"	-21	"	"
	4.	97.	उत्पत्तिक्रमसाधन	चन्द्रकीर्ति	"	"	-28	"	"
	5.	98.	पिंडीक्रम T (?)	अंगुरिपाव	"	"	-38	"	"
	6.	99.	बलितत्त्वाधिकार	..	"	"	-42	"	"
	7.	100.	कर्मन्तिविभागमेलावण etc.	..	"	"	-59	"	Incomplete
XIX	8.	101.	व्याकरण (?)	..	मागधी	12 x 1 1/2	..	..	"
	1.	102.	श्रमणेरकारिका टीका	जयरक्षित	"	10 x 2	..	5	Complete (?)
XX	2.	103.	उपसम्पदाज्ञप्ति	..	"	"	28	5	"
	1.	104.	त्याज्यन्तप्रक्रिया (कलाप) T	संवहर	"	12 3/8 x 2 1/8	..	6	"

¹ In the Colophone—"सम्वत्सर २१० (i.e. 1090 A. D.) माघमासे श्री र उं धर्ममहाविहारस्थाने तस्मिन् वर्षे संघभट्टारकैः पञ्चाशतम् शुद्ध धान्यमानिकाः प्रदत्ता अङ्कतोपि धान्यमानि ५० ॥ द्वितीयवर्षे शिवका तण्डुलधान्ये पञ्चाशान्मानिकाः । अङ्कतोपि धान्यमानि ५० ॥ तृतीयवर्षे आर्द्रधान्यमानिकाः सार्द्धं दश जटुलग्रामस्य भूपमुसंज्ञाग्रामस्य धान्यमानि सप्त [दश] । अङ्कतोपि धान्यमानि १७ ॥ चतुर्थे जटुलग्रामस्य धान्यमानिका दश ... ।"

2.	105.	अभिषर्म्मकोशकारिका T	वसुबन्धु	"	11 1/2 x 1 3/8	1-43	4	Incomplete
3.	106.	चण्डमहाराषणतंत्र T ¹	..	"	10 1/2 x 2	2-48	5	"
XXI	1.	107. (व्याकरण टीका)	प्रज्ञावर्म ²	शारदा	12 x 2	23	6	Complete ?
	2.	108. (वज्रयान ग्रन्थ)	..	कुटिला	"	..	6	" (?)
	3.	109. कार्तिकाविवरणपर्यजिका ³	जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि	मैथिली	12 x 1 3/8	40	5	(Pāṇini 1.1)
	4.	110. बोधिचर्यावतार T	शान्तिदेव	मागधी	"	14	..	Incomplete
	5.	111. (वज्रयान work)	..	"	12 x 2	..	..	"
XXII	112.	(गुह्यसमाज-प्रदीपोद्योतन टीका ⁴ T	चन्द्रकीर्ति	"	12 x 2 1/2	176	7	Complete
XXIII	113.	कालचक्रटीका ⁵ T	(भवलोकिदेवर),	"	10 x 2	..	5	" (?)
		विमलप्रभा						

¹ Nepal Darbar Library (New S.) पे. 220. and ते 661. 768.

² In the Colophone—"उत्तरापथिक चर्लदेवजन्मा प्रज्ञावर्मणः । ... कस्मीराधिष्ठाने ... श्री तिडिणी (?)

शामे हरिवनधर्मविहारे सम्बत् ४५८ (?) लुति (?) श्रीमन्महीपालदेव विजयिनि ।"

³ "लक्ष्मणदेवपट्टञ्चाशताब्दीय राज्ये ... ५६ श्रीमद्वीरसिंहदेवस्तन्यमानायां तीरभुक्तौ शाल्मलीपाटके स्थित्वा लिखितमिदं छान्दोग्यश्रुतिप्रकाशेन ... मार्ग शुदि १४ कालोदेवरगुरुव्याख्यात् महापंडित स्थविर साधुकीर्तिचरणैः ।"

⁴ Donor is "श्रामणेर गुणाकरपाल" ।

⁵ Nepal Darbar Library (New S.) ते 600.

XXIV	1.	114.	काव्यादर्श T	दण्डी	"	$10\frac{2}{3} \times 2$	23	7,8	Complete (?)
	2.	115.	विशिकाविवृति	..	"	$11\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$	..	7	" (?)
	3.	116.	सूत्रालंकार T	मंत्रेय	"	"	..	7	" (?)
	4.	117.	अभिसमयसमुच्चयटीका	..	"	"	..	7	"
XXV		118.	हेवज्रडाकिनीजालमहातंत्रटीका (वज्ररत्नावली) 1	आर्यदेव	"	$10\frac{2}{3} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$	239	5	" (?)
XXVI	1.	119.	हेवज्रसाधनोपयिक	सरोहपाद कुटिला	"	$11\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$	1-8	7	Complete
	2.	120.	हेवज्राख्ययुगनद्ध T	अद्वयवज्र	"	"	-22 ²	"	"
	3.	121.	हेवज्रसत्त्वविकाश	दिवाकरचन्द्र	"	"	-46	"	"
	4.	122.	हेवज्रसाधन ज्ञानप्रदीप	"	"	"	-61	"	"
	5.	123.	चित्तविशुद्धि	"	"	"	-62	"	"
	6.	124.	हेवज्रबलिविधि	"	"	"	-65	"	"

1 In the Colophone—"कृतिरियं योगिनः केलिकुलियास्य (=लीलावज्रस्य) । देय धर्मोयं ... परमोपासक श्रीअन्तव घोषस्य ... परमेश्वर परमभट्टारक परमसौगत महाराजाधिराज श्रीमत् मदनपालदेव (1134-53 A. D.) प्रबर्द्धमान विजय-राज्ये सम्वत् १९ भाद्रदिने १३ ।"

2 On this page the Paṇḍita (Vajrapāṇi) who translated this work into Tibetan Stan-gyur. Rgyud. XLVI. 22, inserted a verse, eulogizing his teacher—the author—"यस्य प्रसादकिरणैः स्फुरितात्सतत्त्वरत्नप्रभाः परिकु (sic?) प्रह्लादकारः । यस्य (sic) अनाविलदृशः स्वविलासमुच्चैः तस्मैः (sic) नमः कृतिरियं गुरुभास्करस्य ॥"

7.	125.	हेवज्रविशुद्धिसाधन ¹	T	अवधूतिपाद	"	-80	"	Complete
8.	126.	हेवज्राभिसमयतिलक	T	शाक्यरक्षित	"	-107	"	"
9.	127.	हेवज्रसाधन	T	अनङ्गावज्र	"	-114	"	"
10.	128.	"	T	"	"	-123	"	"
11.	129.	भवशुद्धि		कृष्णबालवज्र	"	-140	"	"
12.	130.	परमर्गभीरोत्तानक्रम		विवाकरचन्द्र	"	-156	"	"
13.	131.	हेल्लसाधन	T	गर्भपाद	"	-160	"	"
14.	132.	"		अल्लवज्र	"	-164	"	"
15.	133.	हेल्लकभट्टारकसाधन		आनन्दगर्भपाद कुटिल	"	-186	"	"
16.	134.	हेवज्रसाधन		महवपाद	"	-197	"	"
17.	135.	"		सहजवज्र	"	-201	"	"
18.	136.	(हेवज्र)पूजाविधि		शाश्वतवज्र	"	-202	"	"
19.	137.	अभिसमयक्रम		"	"	-204	"	"
20.	138.	हेवज्रसाधन		"	"	-218	"	"
21.	139.	"		ज्ञानवज्र	"	-224	"	"
22.	140.	हेवज्रस्तुति		समाधिद्वज्र	"	-228	"	"
23.	141.	"		"	"	-230	"	"

¹ "हेवज्रविशुद्धिनिधि" in T.

24.	142.	हेवज्रचक्रविंशिका	सरोरुहवज्र	"	"	-231	"	Complete
25.	143.	हेरुक्तुति	कण्ठ्या	"	"	-231	"	"
26.	144.	हेवज्रयोगिनीस्तुति	..	"	"	-235	"	"
27.	145.	नैरात्म्यस्तुति	..	"	"	-235	"	"
28.	146.	नैरात्म्यसाधन	..	"	"	-245	"	"
29.	147.	"	रत्नाकरवार्ता	"	"	-249	"	"
30.	148.	"	दिवाकरचन्द्र	"	"	-267	"	"
31.	149.	बलिचक्रविधि	..	"	"	-271	"	"
XXXVII	150.	अमरकोशटीका ¹	सुभूतिचन्द्र	मागधी	12X2 ¹ / ₈	192-389	7,8	Incomplete
XXXVIII		(कविकामधेनु)						
XXXIX	151.	हेरुक्साधनपञ्जिका	..	"	10 ¹ / ₈ X2	123	5	Complete
	1.	कलापव्याकरणटीका	उत्सवकीर्ति	"	"	123	5	Incomplete
XXX	2.	त्रिलिङ्गप्रकरण	मंजु ..	"	"	88	6	Complete
	154.	... (सहायन) सूत्र	..	"	7 ¹ / ₈ X2	174	5	"
XXXI	155.	हेरुक्साधनमंत्रोद्धार etc.	..	मंथिली	12X2	..	5	Incomplete

¹ In the Colophon—"सम्बत् ३१३ (313 N. E.=1191 A. D.) फाल्गुण कृष्ण तृतीया बृहस्पति.....!"
 Lal Chand Library (D. A. V. College, Lahore) contains one MS. of it.

XXXII	156. Loose leaves								
	On व्याकरण, लक्षण etc.								
XXXIII	1. 157. रसप्रकाशमालिङ*	गोविन्दनाथ	नागरी	10 × 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	..	44	..	..	Incomplete
	2. 158. नैरात्म्यसिद्धि*	जेतरियाद	शाखा	8 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 3	..	..	..	6	Complete
XXXIV	1. 159. धर्मपद ²	..	सागधी	10 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 2	..	21	..	7	"
	2. 160. मध्यान्तविभङ्गकारिकाभाष्य ³ † वसुबन्धु	..	"	"	..	40	..	6	"
	3. 161. धनरत्नस्थविरस्तोत्र	..	नेवारी	10 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 1 $\frac{5}{16}$	..	1	..	4	"
	4. 162. अचलकमण्डय†	वनरत्न	"	"	..	2	..	4	"
XXXV	1. 163. एकजटास्तोत्र	..	नागरी	6 × 1 $\frac{2}{3}$	..	2	..	6	"
	2. 164. गणपतिहृदयधारणी	..	"	7 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 1 $\frac{5}{16}$	..	3	..	5	"
	3. 165. पंचरक्षाबलि	..	मैथिली	8 $\frac{2}{3}$ × 1 $\frac{1}{3}$	..	4	..	4	"
	4. 166. वज्रसूची	..	नागरी	"	..	10	..	4, 5	"
XXXVI	167. Loose leaves	Tamil	चतुर्ल	5 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 1 $\frac{1}{3}$	..	..	..	..	..

1. In the beginning of the book (which is in modern Nāgari character) the author writes—
 —“गुर्जरवलयेत्पक्षे शूरदित्यद्विजोत्तमः । तस्योद्भव सुतः ज्ञातो गोविंदः शिवपूजकः ।”

2 Pāli Dhammapada, translated into Sanskrit by the Indian paṇḍita by the Indian paṇḍita=वनरत्न (1384-1468 A. D.) who was ordained in Ceylon. “यनो (Sic) पूर्वगमा.....।”

3 “मध्यान्तविभङ्ग टीका” in Stan-gyur. Mdo. XLIV.

* Written on paper.

XXXXVII	1. 168. सर्वज्ञसिद्धिसंश्लेष	शंकरनन्दन	वर्तुल	10 $\frac{2}{3}$ × 2	..	7	Complete
	2. 169. A Commentary on some Nyāya text	रंजन		11 $\frac{2}{3}$ × 2	70	6	"
XXXXVIII	3. 170. तर्करहस्य	..	नेवारी	10 $\frac{2}{3}$ × 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	50	7	"
	1. 171. वादन्यायटीका (?)	..	कुटिला	11 $\frac{1}{3}$ × 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	42	10	"
	2. 172. रत्निरहस्य	कोकयंछित	"	10 $\frac{2}{3}$ × 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	17	11	"
	3. 173. प्रज्ञालकारिका	..	मागधी	11 $\frac{1}{3}$ × 2	25	6	"
	4. 174. सर्वज्ञसिद्धिकारिका	..	"	"	..	..	"
	5. 175. आगमप्राप्त्याण्यकारिका	धर्मकीर्ति	"	"	..	..	"
	6. 176. वादन्याय ¹ * I	..	कुटिला	12 × 2 $\frac{1}{3}$	20	9, 10, 11	"
XXXXIX	1. 177. प्रतिमोक्षसूत्र ²	..	मागधी	10 $\frac{2}{3}$ × 2	..	5	"
	2. 178. सुभाषितल्लोका ³	भोमार्जुनसोम	"	"	41	12	"
		V. Gu-rim-lha-khang library of Sa-skya					
I	179. वार्तिकालंकार†	प्रज्ञाकरगुप्त	वर्तुल	27 × 4	59	10-19	II, III Chapters

¹ In the Colophone—"कृतितिरियमाचार्यधर्मकीर्तिचरणानां ॥ त् ॥ अलेखिवानीश्वरेणेति ।"

² This book belonged to the Sect—"महासाधिकलोकोत्तरवादी ।" In the Colophone—"शाक्यभिक्षु विजयमद्र लिखितमिदम् ।"

³ In the beginning of the book author says—"नानाकवीन्द्रवचनानि मनोहराणि संख्यावतां परमकण्ठविभूषणानि । आकम्पकानि शिरसश्च महाकवीनां तेषां समुच्चयमनर्घमहं विधास्ये ।" A copy of this book is found in the collection of the Rājaguru Paṇḍitarāja Hemarāja Sarman (Nepal).

* Is in course of publication as an Appendix to the next June issue of J.B.O.R.S.

† Appearing as an Appendix in the next March issue of J.B.O.R.S.

II 1.	180. अमरकोशटीका (कामधेनु) सुभूतिचन्द्र	मागधी	22½ × 2½	9	7, 8	1-8, 10 pages
2.	181. (व्याकरणटीका)	.. "	"	1	7	16th page
3.	182. (विनयटीका)	.. "	23 × 2½	3	7, 8	Incomplete
4.	183. (पंचरक्षा)	महासायाविद्याराज्ञी etc.	..	रंजन	43	6
					22 × 2½	46-68 pages
5.	184. अष्टसाहसिकाप्रज्ञापारमिता ¹	..	मागधी	21½ × 2	137	7
						Incomplete
						Incomplete

¹ In the Colophone page 68b—"देयधर्मोयं प्रवरमहायानयायिनः महासामन्ताधिपति महा-
राजलिक श्री रुद्रमाणसुत परमोपासक राजपुत्र श्री विक्रमाणस्य यदत्र पुण्यत्तद्भवत्वाचार्योपाध्याय माता पितृ पूर्वङ्गमं कृत्वा सकल-
सत्वरक्षोरनुत्तर ज्ञान फलावाप्तय इति ॥ ॥ श्रीमन्मदनपालदेवस्य (1134-53 A.D.) राज्य सम्बत् १७

नमोस्तु रत्नत्रितयाय नित्यं । लोकत्रयेध्वात्तविनाशनाय ।

सर्वश्रमाणामपि मण्डनाय दिवापि रात्रावपि भास्वराय ॥²

वङ्गसोच्छेदो न केषामभवदिह महीमण्डले पार्थिवानाम् (1)

एतस्मिन्मानवङ्गो स्वयमधिकलसत्कर्मनिर्माणरम्ये ।

सत्यत्यागप्रतापभ्युदयनयद्याचारिःसीमसौम्ये (1)

मर्यादारक्षितक्षमावलयमुल्लसतं सार्द्धमासन्नरेन्द्राः ।

श्रीबल्लभान नृपते (२) त्रपता श्रीरुद्रमाननृपतेरच ।⁵

श्रीधर्ममाणनृपतिर्बुधूव तनयो नयनिपुणः ॥

उच्छेदमत्रापि कुटुम्भभेदाशङ्क्य सौभ्रात्रविशुद्धसिद्धिः ।

व्याजेन यस्य क्षितिरक्षणार्थं धर्मवितारं पुनर्यकार्षीत् ॥

तस्यानुज्ञो विक्रमाणनामा शत्रून्समुत्सार्य भूवां भुजाभ्याम् ।

आवेष्टयन्भूमिमिमामका⁶

"ELEMENTS OF MITHRA-CULT APPROPRIATED
BY CHRISTIANITY"

By the Rev. K. Giebels, S. J., Ph. and Litt. D.

Professor Poure-Davoud publishes in *The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*,¹ an article entitled "Mithra-Cult" which contains an attempt at a comparative history of the religions of Mithra and Christ, as is shown by the following headings: "The traces of Mithraism in Christianity" and "The elements of Mithra-Cult appropriated by Christianity."

The writer states his views clearly in the following words:—"Even during this twentieth century, some of the bigoted Christian scholars persistently labour, like the Christians of the third and fourth centuries, to conceal the truth. But some of the learned and impartial authors, who consider all knowledge and science as sacred, and to whom all knowledge is esteemable, as any prophet or angel, have not hesitated from telling the truth. They openly write that some principles, and most of the formal rites of the faith of Christ, are derived from Mithraism. . . . From the smallest things, just like bells, to the highest beliefs, such as Christ sacrificed his life for the sake of the salvation of mankind—all these are taken from the Mithra-Cult."

This is, no doubt, a sweeping assertion. Unhappily, it does not rest on a careful examination of the documents, on an accurate comparison of the terms to be compared, or on a solid argumentation.

No one will deny that a cult may borrow elements existing in another cult. But there is borrowing and borrowing. If one cult takes from another, *characteristic* rites or doctrines, which constitute for it really *new* acquisitions, we may and must speak of substantial dependence, of "appropriation and usurpation".² But if a

¹ September 1933, pp. 255-280.

² Passages between inverted commas in the following pages are taken, unless otherwise stated from the article at hand, but *Italics* are mine.

cult is found to have a few of those secondary rites which are common to many religions, simply because they are human, it would be preposterous to speak of "appropriation and usurpation." The similarity of two forms of worship in a few such rites is of small consequence. It might be a matter of research for the historian to ascertain the origin of the ritual use of water, music and bells, or of the kneeling posture during prayer which we meet with in both Christianity and Mithraism. Have both cults discovered and adopted them on their own accord? Has Christianity taken them from Mithraism, or from another religion; or again, Mithraism from Christianity, or another cult? Whatever may be the result of this investigation, such trifling points of similarity would entitle nobody to speak of appropriation or usurpation.

Christianity has, in fact, taken, in course of time, some of these secondary ceremonies from non-Christian religions—we do not say from Mithraism. But it has transformed and penetrated with its own spirit what it has taken from elsewhere; and generally, it has borrowed ceremonies with a view to eradicate more surely the pagan habits of its recent converts and the better to imbue the new Christians with its own religious conceptions. As for characteristic rites and any point of doctrine, we could prove that Christianity has never appropriated anything, either from Mithraism or any other pagan religion. Catholic works, treating these questions and satisfying the severest exigencies of historical criticism, are not difficult to find. Our purpose however, more practical and imposed upon us by the article published in *The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, is before all to show that Professor Poure-Davoud's article does not satisfy the requirements of historical and critical research and that it does not contain a single proof that Christianity has appropriated any rite or belief at all from Mithraism.

We first remark that the Professor does not show himself well acquainted with Christianity. He speaks of Christian beliefs and practices which do not exist, e.g., of prayers being said towards the East, South and West at different times of the day; of Ascension as falling on a Sunday, whereas it cannot but fall on a Thursday; of the "bridge across the infernal fire". These utterances are not the

only ones which point to an ignorance, hardly to be condoned in one who assumes to explain the origins of Christian doctrines and ceremonies.³

The great authority on Mithraism is M. F. Cumont. Professor Poure-Davoud repeatedly translates or summarizes passages from the works of the Belgian savant, without even mentioning his source of information.⁴ Without taking the same liberty, we cannot but acknowledge our immense indebtedness to the indispensable works of the same writer.

Not any random method leads to well established and determined conclusions. In comparative history, as is the present case, a vague similarity of some beliefs and rites in two cults does not of itself constitute a proof of dependence. The following remarks will not, therefore, be out of place:—

1. Before all, it is necessary to consider the *essential* elements and the sum-total or *complex* of the beliefs and ceremonies which exist in the religions to be compared. Indeed, in all religions, however much alien to one another, some traits of similarity are bound to exist. Man after all is everywhere man, and the ways by which he can express his feelings to the divinity are limited in number. Some secondary similarities, existing between two religions, are not, therefore, at once signs of dependence, any more than the secondary similarities existing between a Chinese, a Negro and a European prove that they are of the same race. As for the beliefs and characteristics which present a *prima facie* characteristic resemblance, it is of the utmost importance—if we do not want to draw rash conclusions—to examine and state accurately what these concretely are and really mean in each

³ Names are often spelled inaccurately: Licibus (twice for *Licinius*), Dio Cassus (*Cassius*), Lucuis (*Lucius*), Vosages (*Vosges*), etc. The expression "Sol Natalis Invicti" which is found in one of the rare express quotations from M. F. Cumont, is incomprehensible and found nowhere in that writer, who uses "Natalis Solis Invicti" in reference to the birthday of the unconquerable Sun.

⁴ We point out only one instance: pp. 267-268, to be compared with M. F. Cumont's *Les Mysteres de Mithra* (1902 2nd. Ed.) p. 29. Several historical inaccuracies have crept into this passage, which are not found in the work of M. F. Cumont. And this is not the only case.—All our quotations from M. F. Cumont are from this work, unless otherwise expressly stated.

religion. What does follow from the fact, for instance, that two religions have "offerings, supplication", a ritual immolation and a sacrificial meal? Absolutely nothing; for if these apparently characteristic actions separate sharply the religious life of any man or society from their private and civil life, it is precisely because they are essential to all religions, however diverse these religions may be. On the principle that parallelism or analogy indicates at once dependence, one might as well say that the use of the bow and arrow, proper to some peoples in India, Australia and America, was borrowed by the one from the other.

2. More than one reliable method, it is true, may be followed in comparative history of religions. The starting point and order of discussion may vary. The historian can start by pointing out a few *well characterized* beliefs and ceremonies, or again a *great number* of less characterized beliefs and ceremonies. In both cases, however, it must be shown that the coincidences cannot be due to both religions drawing simply from the common store of human nature, their own founder, or a third religion. It remains further to be examined which of the two cults has influenced the other; for it is not out of the question *e.g.*, that an older cult tries to compete with a younger competitor by appropriating to itself something of the riches of its new rival.—The historian can follow another method. He can first produce arguments tending to show that in a determined worship there exists a tendency to enrich itself with the goods of others. Provided that fact is well established, the theory of essential appropriations enters into the domain of probability. If then points of contact in time and place and similarity of tenets are discovered, the probability will grow and may, in certain cases, even reach certitude. But, if on the contrary, arguments are produced which establish the exclusiveness of a religion and its constant and utter antipathy to the doctrines and rites of its neighbours, only strong and positive arguments will permit the assertion that there have been effective borrowing and dependence on its part.

3. Further, the simpler solution should be preferred. Hence, it is not historically prudent to presume *e.g.*, that a creed has under-

gone the influence of a religion very different in its conceptions—when another, obvious, explanation is at hand. Again, if a creed appears at a time and in a place and environment where an older creed flourished which can account for the substance and most of the details of the new creed, it is uncritical to affirm, except with strong proofs that this new creed has nothing to do with that congenial creed and that it is, on the contrary, indebted to some other.

4. Finally, it is hardly necessary to state that no historian worthy of the name can write without making a diligent and accurate investigation of the documents, especially of those contemporaneous with the period studied.

These principles, so essential to comparative history, are strangely overlooked in the article before us. And to begin with the principles mentioned in the last place: it is a fact that the Founder and first preachers of Christianity were confirmed Jews, that from their youth they had observed all the ceremonies of the Jewish religion and that during their whole life they faithfully adhered to all its beliefs. The Jewish religion was deeply rooted in their country and practised there for more than a millennium. *All the beliefs* of the Jews are now beliefs of the Christians. Have we then to recur to Mithraism to explain even one of the beliefs common to Judaism and Christianity?

The sacred and official Literature of the Jews is still extant, as are also the books of the New Testament. Both contain much doctrine and history. Yet the Professor does not once use the Old Testament⁵ and does not as much as refer to the New Testament, although it is full of the doctrines and rites of early Christianity. We shall later have to come back on this question; in the meantime we only remark that in the article at hand we have an attempt at *comparative* history which completely neglects the most abundant sources of information available about one of the two terms *compared*.

Perhaps the Professor proposes to establish an a priori probability of Christianity's having borrowed beliefs and rites from Mithraism? We are repeatedly told that Mithraism was of "long standing" and

⁵ Except for its mention of a certain Mithra-Dat.

"deeply rooted". This is, in fact, an argument in favour of the possibility—perhaps some probability—of Christianity's borrowing from Mithraism provided, however, that Mithraism was of long standing and exercised its influence *in the very countries* where Christianity appeared and developed. Now, this condition is in no way fulfilled. The facts are as follows: no trace at all of Mithraic monuments has ever been found in Palestine, where Christianity was born; scarcely any trace of it has been discovered in the rather extensive Greek speaking countries, where Christianity first spread (Greece,⁶ Macedonia, the Roman Province of Asia, Syria, Phoenicia, Egypt, Cyprus, Crete).⁷ "Mithra," says M. Cumont, "*never* conquered many followers in the Greek or Hellenized countries." We do not deny that "the religions of Christ and Mithra both entered Europe simultaneously", viz., about 70 A.D.; but the Mithraic cult entered it in the north along the Danube,⁸

⁶ The Professor contradicts our statement about Greece. He says that according to Plutarch the pirates of Cilicia performed their rites and offered sacrifices "to Mithra on Mount *Olympia*, i.e., in the very place, which has always been the headquarters of the Greek gods. But if Plutarch mentions Olympus, it is not he who tries to make us believe that the pirates of Cilicia, who were the terror of the Greek, undertook a journey of 800 miles and were allowed to enter the territory of their enemies for the performance of their worship. The solution is much more simple and obvious: the Olympus mentioned by Plutarch is the Town of Olympus in Lycia, in the very country of the Cilician pirates. [The Professor is not happy in this reference. Cilicia was not the city of Tarsus, but a country: the sacred Olympus of the Greeks was a mountain in the north: Olympia was not a mountain, but a city in Elis in the south of Greece. ED.J.]

⁷ The Professor says: "Looking at the *map* of the ancient Roman Empire (at the end of the 2nd. century A. D.), we can say that *in no country* any god or angel or prophet equalled Mithra in fame." M. Cumont has a special *map* showing the diffusion of the Mysteries of Mithra in the Roman Empire through all the centuries. It indicates traces of the Mithraic monuments at Piræus in Greece, at Amorium and perhaps Acmonia in the Province of Asia Minor, at Sahin in Syria, at Sidon in Phoenicia, at Alexandria and Memphis in Egypt; none in Macedonia, Bithynia, Cyprus, Crete; i.e., seven in all in these Greek speaking countries. Cf. Cumont, o.c., Ch. II, about the Propagation of Mithraism in the Roman Empire.

⁸ On the spread of Mithraism at the end of the second century A.D., the Professor says: "In short, on the continent of Europe, the sphere of influence of Mithra extended from the shores of the Black Sea to Ecosse. In Africa it reached the borders of Sahara." One gets the impression that the whole of Europe was occupied. Cumont (o.c., p. 36) makes a most important restriction: "From shores of the Black Sea till the mountains of Scotland and on the borders of the Sahara, *all along the old Roman Boundaries* (tout le long de l'ancienne frontiere romaine) the Mithraic monuments abound."

whereas Christianity spread from Palestine, the Province of Asia and Greece, that is, from the east. We have yet to wait another eighty years before both cults meet elsewhere than in Rome. "The territories of the two religious powers", M. Cumont notes, "did not coincide, and both could spread for a pretty long time without coming directly into conflict."⁹ The Professor's statement that "when the religion of Christ came into Europe, it found itself *face to face* with a long standing religion" is, therefore, historically groundless. Does not the probability of Christianity's having appropriated tenets and rites of Mithraism vanish, when, on the one hand, the earliest date of contact has to be put well after 70 A.D., whilst, on the other hand, extant historical documents, written before that date, already witness to the beliefs and essential rites of Christianity?

It is not only the distance which separated both religions during the first fifty—not to say one hundred—years of Christianity which renders it most improbable that the two cults have seriously interacted. The very nature of Christianity, as the documents show it to us from its first appearance and during its further history, makes any substantial appropriation on its part from the polytheistic cults *a priori* most improbable. This reason would hold, even if it were proved that the Mithraic worship flourished in the very countries where the Christian religion appeared and first spread.

As a matter of fact the Christians have always shown themselves uncompromising monotheists. They were always ready to sustain the severest and longest persecutions rather than adore the Emperors or any god of the polytheistic or syncretic cults. Those among them who, yielding to the torments, chose to offer incense on the heathen altars were considered as apostates and renegades. Christianity had therefore nothing of the broad tolerance peculiar to so many religions of the Roman Empire, Mithraism included. From its very beginning it showed itself absolutely exclusive in its beliefs, and never would the Church, in all that was essential, hold any truce with paganism.

⁹ O.c., p. 160.

Such being the case, must not a scholar consider it a priori most unlikely and improbable that Christianity should have appropriated to itself any substantial element—belief or rite—from any of its polytheistic and heathen rivals? The Mithraic cult was one of these. Its power may in the third century have surpassed that of the other heathen cults. This was due to the fact that Mithraism opened its doors to the very different creeds of Persia, Syria and Phrygia, and enjoyed the powerful protection of the Roman Emperors. But, although the Mithraic worship may compare favourably with other syncretic cults of the first centuries of our era, its conceptions are at the antipodes of Christianity. "The two systems were separated by an impassable gulf", says M. Dill,¹⁰ a witness in no way partial to Catholicism.

It must be said, however, that Professor Poure-Davoud uses an argument which he proposes as an explicit and direct proof for the dependence of Christianity on Mithraism. Armed with antecedent and consequent, this argument has the advantage of being absolutely clear: "The new-born religion," he says, "did not possess under any form the rites or ceremonies or a book, even from its own founder Christ. Consequently, it could not but copy the foreign ceremonies and the usages or in other words, it had to appropriate to itself at least the apparent forms of its rival." In this important statement or process of reasoning *one detail* is exact, viz, that Christ did not, personally, write a book. *All the rest is wrong*; logically, psychologically and historically.

Logically, the consequent does not follow: for, taking even the antecedent to be true, why—if Christianity had to appropriate—could it not have copied from, say, the Mysteries of Eleusis, of Samothracia, of Epidaurus, of Isis and Osiris, of Venus and Adonis, of Orphism, or from other pagan cults¹¹ which existed in various parts of the Roman Empire? Why only from Mithraism?

Psychologically:—The Professor rightly calls Christ the founder of Christianity. Is it possible to have the founder of a religion who

¹⁰ *Roman Society from Nero to Aurelius*, p. 622 sq.

¹¹ The cult of Jupiter Dolichenus was practised in Commagena concurrently with Mithraism and made at the same time as the latter the tour of the Roman Empire. (F. Cumont, o.c., p. 30).

does not teach any doctrine, or impose any rite on his followers? Even if a religion possessed no writings, are we allowed to assert, on this account, that it is a religion without rites and beliefs of its own? Is not the living word of the founder of a cult or philosophy a richer source than any book? Pythagoras did not write; yet was not his doctrine, were not his directions kept by his disciples, who persistently repeated: *Ipse dixit*? Many religions have lived for centuries without a written book. We do well when we acknowledge our ignorance about their original beliefs and rites; but who can affirm that they did not possess any belief or rite?

Historically:—If a historian shows himself more exacting in the case of Christianity and requires written documents, we can fully satisfy him. Christianity possessed written works from its very first generation. The Professor's assertion that "the new-born religion did not possess under any form the rites or ceremonies or a book" is not only historically false, but simply astounding in its boldness. Are there not the Gospels of SS. Matthew, Mark and Luke, containing the preaching of Christ? Are there not the Acts of the Apostles, narrating the spread of Christianity from the death of Christ till the year 62 A.D.? Are there not the Epistles of St. Paul and other Apostles, so full of the primitive Christian doctrines? Have not most of these been written before 70 A.D.? And, not to speak of beliefs, do not these writings record essential rites of Christianity, for instance, Baptism, Eucharist, Confirmation, imposition of hands to confer the Priesthood, Unction for the dying?

The New Testament does testify to primitive Christian rites: the Professor denies the existence of any rites or any book in early Christianity. Are we to suppose then that he is unaware of the existence of the New Testament, even of the Gospels, which are the most widespread writings in the world and available everywhere for a few annas? If, knowing them and their contents, he rejects their early date or their historical trustworthiness, he might at least, as a historian, say so and prove his views; for he himself declares that "impartial authors" must "consider all knowledge and science as sacred" and may not "conceal the truth".

The above remarks can only strengthen the view that the method followed in the article is not likely to lead to any reliable conclusion. The presumption remains, at least equally strong, against the dependence of Christianity on Mithraism.

Yet presumptions must yield to facts. We are therefore ready to admit "appropriations and usurpations" if well-established facts are brought forward. We draw attention, however, to two points: first, that, owing to the above mentioned presumption, the *onus probandi* lies with the Professor; and secondly, that the enumeration of some coincidences between the beliefs and rites of the two religions cannot at once be taken as a proof of interdependence. A theory that has so much against it ought to be substantiated with something more than superficial comparisons. We shall assume the ungrateful task of examining the beliefs and rites in which we are asked to see a dependence of Christianity on Mithraism. However dry this part of our paper may be, it will throw light on the want of method and criticism in the article under discussion.

We begin with the assertions that relate principally to matters of *doctrine*.

1. We are told: "The religion of Mithra existed in the Roman Empire for more than three hundred years, and a good many of its principles and usages have remained in the religion of Christ, e.g. offerings, supplication, the day of Judgment, the belief about the bridge across the infernal fire, purgatory, heaven, hell, account, and proportion of good and bad actions and the future retribution of virtue and vice." As for the determination of time in this statement, we repeat—it is of importance—that these "more than three hundred years" mean the 2nd and following centuries until the 5th and *begin* about 100 A.D., when the doctrines alluded to had been for several decades the object of a very definite Christian teaching. Further, this teaching and its meaning in Christianity was quite different from the Mithraic conceptions. It is only by using the vaguest and most general terms that one can hope to produce the impression of similarity between these beliefs in the two cults. But by that process one may discover similar points of contact with any other religion!

The Professor ought to show that the similarities with the worship of Mithra are striking and characteristic, and not merely superficial. He affirms, without even an attempt at a proof, that there is dependence. When we examine the examples he gives, it becomes a challenge to all critical sense to speak of community of doctrine or appropriation.¹²

2. "The highest beliefs, such as Christ sacrificed his life for the sake of salvation of mankind—are taken from the Mithra-Cult." Let us listen to some details of the slaying of the bull by Mithra and we shall be edified. Mithra is not put to death; Christ is. The death of Christ is a sacrifice; the slaying of the bull by Mithra is not.¹³ Christ is Priest and Victim; Mithra is neither priest nor victim. The death of Christ is a fact of history; Mithra and the slaying of the bull are myths. According to the legend the command to kill the bull is given to Mithra by the messenger of the Sun, viz., the Crow. It is unwillingly that he executes the order and pierces with his dagger the flank of the animal. A miracle now takes place; from the bull's body grow up grains, creepers and grapes; the serpent, scorpion and ant try to poison this wonderful source of life, but in vain. The Moon

¹² In Mithraic belief, the soul pre-exists to its being united to the body. After death, the judgment does not take place at once; for three nights still the human soul hovers about the dead. Only then, Mithra, Sraosha and Rashnu sit as judges. Afterwards the souls have to pass over the Chinvat bridge which is guarded by angels and spiritual dogs. To the pious souls the bridge offers a wide passage, so that they cross it easily. These souls have to ascend the ladder through the spheres of the seven Planets, separated by as many gates of different metals. At each of the gates, they are freed, as of a garment, of one passion. Finally, pure of all vice and sensuality, they reach heaven, where ambrosia will ensure immortality to them. For the wicked the Chinvat bridge is as sharp as the edge of a razor and they fall headlong into the infernal darkness. Hell is, however, not eternal; but lasts only till the day of the Renovation. Between heaven and hell there is an intermediary place, *hamistagan*, destined for those whose righteousness exactly equals their sins; there the souls will suffer only from the heat in summer and the cold in winter.—I dispense with many details which would only further show how little judgment, heaven, hell, purgatory, etc., can be called similar in the Mithraic and Christian religions. Cf. Prof. A. Carnoy, in *Christus* (Beauchesne, Paris, 1923 4th. Ed.) p. 38; M. N. Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Theology* (New York, 1914) p. 55 sq; F. Cumont, *o.c.*, p. 119 sq.

¹³ It is true that the Professor, quoting M. F. Cumont (*o.c.*, p. 111-113), affirms that Mithra *sacrificed the bull*. But the Belgian savant says on the contrary that Mithra *killed (tuer)* the Bull, and he expressly states that there is question only of killing, *not of sacrificing*. (*Textes et Monuments figures relatifs aux Mysteres de Mithra*, p. 124).

purifies the seed of the bull and from it all kinds of useful animals are born. Mithra's faithful dog preserves the soul of the bull, which ascends heavenward to become the guardian of the herds and flocks. —There is no idea of the redemption of mankind in all this. We find here something of the naturalistic and astrological aspects of the Mithra-worship. What has the redeeming death of Christ in common with such fanciful legends? Has perhaps Mithra become a historical person and Christ a myth? The learned and prudent M. F. Cumont gives the following rule: "Resemblances do not necessarily suppose imitation".¹⁴ But we are now made to believe that not even resemblance is needed to prove dependence and that Christianity has usurped the belief of Mithra the bull-slayer!¹⁵ Rash conclusions, misquotation and vagueness¹⁶ in the statements go here hand in hand.

3. But it is still more in *ceremonies* and rites than in matters of doctrine that the Professor emphasizes the dependence of Christianity on Mithraism. "In the Zoroastrian religion," he states, "the priests used to consecrate bread and water, mix it with Haoma, Sanskrit Soma, and used to eat it during certain religious ceremonies. Also this ancient custom of the Persians accompanied Mithra into Europe. But as there was no Haoma plant in Europe, so that a particular extract could be squeezed out of it, the extracted juice of the fresh twigs of vine was used. . . . Gradually, the juice of the

¹⁴ O.c., p. 163. The same rule is given in *Les Religions Orientales dans le Paganisme Romain* (Paris, 1906, p. xiii) where M. Cumont denies interdependence in the case of similarities at first sight striking.

¹⁵ "The *salvation of the world* is in this *sacrifice*" of Mithra, says the Professor; and this accounts for the belief that "Christ *sacrificed* his life for the *salvation of mankind*." This intentional parallelism is worth noting. Although in the case of Mithraism there is no question of salvation of the sinful world, no more than of sacrifice, expressions are chosen which are apt to convey a fallacious impression of similarity.

¹⁶ Here is one more instance of vagueness in the statements: "When at present the Christians celebrate the Crucifixion and the Ascension of Christ, a holiday was customary with the worshippers of Mithra." As among the Christians the Crucifixion of Christ can be celebrated as early as March 20 and the Ascension as late as June 4, it is no wonder that within this long period of two months and a half Mithraism had a feast! Further, it is not said of which Mithraic feast there is question. I imagine that, if it was a sorrowful one, it must have been copied in the Christian Crucifixion; if, on the contrary, a joyful one, by the Christian Ascension! Is this the accuracy and precision required in a historical study?

fruit of vine, i.e., wine was substituted for the pressed juice of the twigs of the vine-tree. . . . The round loaves of breads, which were used in the religion of Mithra, just as it is common amongst the present Zoroastrians, was either four or six in number. The Avestan word for the bread is *Draona*, and its present form is 'Darun'. All these ceremonies were transferred from Mithraism to Christianity, and they still remain therein. . . . The Christian term 'Eucharist' means the wine and bread used in the ceremonies and considered as the blood and flesh and the soul of Christ. They are the very *Hom* and *Darun* of Mithra, and merely the names are changed."

It is the time to apply a few of the principles that we have enumerated in the first part of this article. One must enter into details and notice, not only the partial and superficial coincidences, but also the divergences; and these are manifest. In Christianity it is nowhere said that there should be *round loaves, either four or six in number*; the Professor is simply inventing. This takes away from his enumeration a similarity that might be styled characteristic if it were really common to Christianity and Mithraism. The Professor mentions two things in the Christian rite: bread and wine;¹⁷ in the Mithraic, a third is added: a cup of water; he admits therefore himself that not 'merely the names are changed.' Then, whereas in the Christian rite genuine wine is indispensable and can be replaced by no substitute, in the Mithraic rite there is indifferently question of *Haoma* or "juice of fresh twigs of the vine" or wine; and water is more important than this *Haoma* or wine. Further in the Christian rite the bread and wine are changed into the sanctifying Body and Blood of Christ, and this change differentiates the Eucharist from ordinary bread and wine; in Mithraism there is no question of anything of the sort; Mithra is not even symbolized by the offering.¹⁸ Finally, it is in no

¹⁷ The Professor rightly does not insist on the use of water in the Christian rite.

¹⁸ The statement that the Zoroastrian "priests used to consecrate bread and water", taken by the Professor from M. Cumont (o.c., p. 133) is not meant by this author to point to a dependence on the part of Christianity. In this connection the following statement of his is worth noting. "We may speak of . . . a 'supper of Mithra' and his companions, but only as we might of 'the vassal-princes of the Empire', or 'the Socialism of Diocletian'. It is a literary device

way certain that in the West wine was substituted by Mithra worshippers for the unavailable Haoma used in the East; this is a conjecture confirmed by no Mithraic monument.¹⁹ It may very well be that, in the West, Mithraism used only bread and water. How then, can anyone affirm and without hesitation, that the Christian Eucharist is "the very Hom and Darun, and merely the names are changed?" We are not sure as to what the Mithraic ceremony was exactly. The divergences at any rate are manifest and manifold and should prevent a prudent historian from asserting dependence. Or rather, the presumptions, of which we have spoken before, should make him say that the theory that Christianity borrowed from Mithraism is far-fetched and unwise. Besides, the Gospels and the Epistles of St. Paul testify to the institution of the Eucharist by Christ. It was not therefore borrowed later on from Mithraism.

4. "Both the groups used to take the holy bath at the time of initiation"—a sufficient sign that the Christian Baptism was "copied" from Mithraism! Is it not, on the contrary, common-sense to say with C. Martindale that "ablution, significant of moral purification, is symbolism to all minds alike?"²⁰ Several cults contemporaneous with Christianity used ablutions with water.²¹ Have they all borrowed the ceremony from Mithraism? And why does the Professor pass over in silence the characteristic Mithraic initiations with honey and blood and speak only of the one with water?

meant to bring out an analogy, or to indicate vividly and approximately a parallel. A word is not a demonstration and one should not hastily conclude from an analogy to an influence. *Preconceived judgments are always the most serious obstacle to an exact knowledge of the past.*" (*Les Religions Orientales*, p. xii).

¹⁹ Cf. C. C. Martindale, in *Christus*, p. 527; and F. Cumont, *o.c.*, p. 133, who says about the Mithraic rite: "They placed before the initiate a loaf and a cup full of water, over which the priest pronounced the sacred formulas. [To the water] wine was then presumably mixed (*on mêlait sans doute ensuite du vin*)."

²⁰ *Lectures on the History of Religions* (London, 1910, Vol. II) *The Religion of Mithra*, p. 28.

²¹ "There is nothing to be drawn from this common fund of religious ideas, and it would be an unpardonable fallacy to transform these similitudes into proofs of interdependence." F. Prat, *The Theology of St. Paul*, transl. J. L. Stoddard, 1927, Vol. II, p. 386.

5. The Professor is not yet satisfied with these appropriations. "*Almost the whole*," he says, "of the customs and ceremonial part pertaining to Mithraism has been transplanted into the religion of Christ." We shall therefore mention some Mithraic rites: ceremonial use of honey and milk; stripes; dramatic representations of suffering and torment to try the initiate; masks and animal disguises; sacred caves and crypts; seven degrees of initiation (one may obtain successively the rank of Crow, Veiled, Soldier, Lion, Persian, Racer of the sun, Father); offering of a garland on a sword to the Soldier who declares that Mithra is his only crown; a special service daily in honour of the Planet to which the day of the week was sacred; a bath with the blood of a victim slain above the head of a candidate.²² None of these rites are found in Christianity. The list could still be notably lengthened.

Before concluding, let us put side by side two statements from Prof. Davoud's article: first, the text just mentioned that "*almost the whole*" of the Mithraic ceremonies was transplanted into Christianity; and then, that "*most* of the formal rites of the faith of Christ are derived from Mithraism". In good logic then *almost* the whole of the Christian and of the Mithraic Ritual must be one and the same. Are we dreaming? M. Cumont says that any account of history which makes one of the two cults equivalent or noticeably parallel to the other can only be styled a "caricature."²³ The article before us draws that caricature masterfully.

The two religions compared by Professor Poure-Davoud are vastly different from each other in their characteristic aspects; the similarities they present are such that only a superficial observer can consider them as of importance. The steady opposition of Christianity towards any form of syncretism and polytheism; the historical evidence we possess about the doctrines and substantial rites of primitive Christianity; its appearance in a country where Mithraism never entered;—these exclude the influence of Mithraism on any of its beliefs and characteristic

²² F. Cumont, *o.c.*, p. 20 sq. 126 sq., 154, etc. The same author says: "Mithraism was involved, in spite of its austerity, in a questionable alliance with the orgiastic cult of the mistress of Attis (Cybele)." Useless to insist.

²³ *O.c.*, p. 164.

rites.

We make no difficulty in acknowledging that the Christian Church assigned the feast of the Nativity of Christ to December 25, *probably* because on that day was celebrated the pagan feast of *sol Invictus* or *Natalis Invicti* (*Mithrae*), which, be it said in passing, was not originally Mithraic. We say "probably", because the question is a disputed one. The great scholar L. Duchesne²⁴ attributes the fixing of Christmas on this day to considerations that have no relation to any pagan feast. Others hold, with better reasons according to us, that the choice of the date was due to the wish to supplant more easily the heathen festival which we have just mentioned. In 335 A.D.,²⁵ i.e., at the time we find Christmas celebrated in Rome, Mithraism had lost its influence and "was on the wane" in the West. Who can reasonably give the name of "usurpation" to the choice of December 25 for Christmas and speak here of the "dependence" of Christianity on waning Mithraism.²⁶

In such a subject as the comparison between the Christian and Mithraic cults, circumspection and prudence are required. The most precise sources of information are early Christian writers. The Professor refuses them any credit. They "aimed at proving the futility of the Mithra-Cult and propriety of their own faith. Thus, for the critical study of the history of religion, this extremely prejudiced information becomes useless, *and it is repugnant to the Persian sense of nationalism*".²⁷ The other sources of information

²⁴ *Origines du Culte Chretien* (Paris, 1905, 5th ed. p. 265 sq.

²⁵ B. Botte, *Les Origines de la Noël et de l'Épiphanie* (Louvain, 1932) p. 54; cf. L. Eisenhofer. *Handbuch der Katholischen Liturgik* (Freiburg i. B., 1932) Vol. I, p. 665.

²⁶ The Professor says "that the December 25, had to be declared the birthday of Christ as late as nearly *four* centuries after him." In the fifth century Mithraism in the West was no more "on the wane", but dead. How, if the affirmation were true, could it influence Christianity from the grave? But the statement is wrong by one century.

²⁷ Whatever be said of the prejudices and supposed uselessness of the early Catholic writers, the point at issue between Christianity and Mithraism is certainly outside any question of *Nationalism*. The concern of the historian is not *Nationalism* but *Truth*. The Mithraic cult, which no one any longer considers as true, is as much beyond the pale of any nationalism to-day as the cult of Zeus is to a modern Greek. *Catholicism* claims to be the only true, and consequently universal, religion; it is free from all nationalism and welcomes and embraces alike all nations.

are for the most part inscriptions, engravings and ruins, the interpretation of which is very delicate and often purely conjectural.²⁸ Yet the Professor neither doubts nor hesitates; the few rites and beliefs that present the vaguest similarity with Christianity are at once identified. What is overlooked is that one part of the so-called "appropriations and usurpations" is easily explained by the fact that both cults are cults of men and that the other part resists any comparison, unless one plays havoc with all methods and prudence. How one can venture to speak of "many...*exactly* similar rites" is simply incomprehensible.

The obvious solution of Christianity's having inherited from Judaism or from its own Founder, is not even considered, nor is the possibility—M. F. Cumont says "probability"—mentioned that Mithraism, which has shown itself broadly hospitable to the beliefs and rites of various religions, may have borrowed some details from Christianity as well.

Vague or inexact statements as well as bold assertions abound, while writers are misquoted, documents are passed over in silence, chronology is neglected, logic suffers a great deal. The Jewish and early Christian books are not opened. The many pagan religions of the Roman Empire do not come under consideration. Only one thing counts—Mithraism, although we know it very imperfectly. We know, however, too much about Mithraism, about its conception of the divinity and of man's destiny, about its rites and beliefs, to admit the theory of "appropriations and usurpations" by the supernatural religion of the historical person Christ from the cult of the mythical Mithra.

²⁸ M. Cumont remarks that to write about Mithraism we are more or less in the same position as we would be "had we to write the history of the Church in the Middle Ages, if we had at our disposal only the Hebrew Bible and the sculptured remains of Roman or Gothic porches." (*O.c.*, p. xii).

THE REVENUE ADMINISTRATION OF MIR QASIM IN BIHAR AND BENGAL

(1760-63)

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It was for matters of revenue and finance alone that Mir Qasim had any real aptitude or capacity,¹ and this is why his revenue administration bears the fullest impress of his personal supervision, direction, and initiative. Having always had a profound taste for Mathematics, he possessed a natural proficiency in controlling the revenue accounts, and checking the financial administration in general.² During his short rule, he completely changed the spirit of the revenue system which he had inherited from the previous regime, and sought to revolutionise it by introducing into it new principles, and reviving in a new form the methods and ideas that had once been associated with the administration of some of the former Nazims like Jafar Khan, Shuja Khan, or Ali Vardi Khan. The laxity, inefficiency, and corruption that had crept into financial administration in recent years deeply prejudiced him against the whole system, and the policy underlying it. He determined to clear the revenue administration of its chronic wastefulness, jobbery, and irregularities with a high hand, and himself set to infuse into it a vigour that was in a way unprecedented. Mir Qasim's revenue administration is therefore of peculiar interest. It not only gives a perfect insight into his characteristic severity and oppression, but forms the background for the revenue administration of the East India Company in Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa.

The Nawab aimed at thoroughly overhauling the whole

¹ Vansittart's Narrative, II, p. 187.

² Siyar, (Lucknow Text), p. 712.

structure of the revenue administration, and started with the reformation of the central revenue office. The officials of the former regime were all taken to task for alleged misappropriations, and made to disgorge whatever they had been able to amass for themselves.³ With the help of some old 'mutasaddis' of Ali Vardi Khan, the Nawab was enabled to detect numerous embezzlements. The farmers and collectors who had been similarly reported against were all ruthlessly punished, and their private property confiscated indiscriminately. In fact, the wealth of the suspected individuals came to be regarded as sufficient proof of their guilt. New officials were appointed to replace the former incumbents both at Murshidabad, and other places. During his short rule, there was such frequent supersession of officials on the slightest suspicion that nobody was safe, and the Nawab was held in great terror on account of his suspicious character, and ability in accounts. The office of the Diwan, and that of the Naib Diwans changed hands several times during his regime, simply because the Nawab could not place any reliance on the integrity of his officials. He kept a sharp eye on his revenue officials, lest they should misappropriate government funds, and meted out exemplary punishments to offenders. By sheer terrorism, Mir Qasim soon managed to stamp out all corruption and waste.

It is interesting to note that the Nawab sought to check the influence of the Qanungos who were the hereditary record officers of the parganahs, and as such were in possession of all the essential information relating to the value, tenure, measurements, sales, or transfers of the lands. By virtue of their position as Registrars of the lands they⁴ held a unique office in the revenue system of the country. Without their co-operation the efficient collection of the

³ Siyar, p. 696.

Muzaffar-namah (Alld. Univ. MS.), p. 304 etc.

Tarikh-i-Muzaffari (Alld. Univ. MS.), p. 771.

Khulasat (J. B. O. R. S., V, p. 351.)

Beng. Sel. Com., Oct. 26, 1760. (Vice Letter from Vansittart, dated Oct. 24, 1760.)

Reflections on the Present Commotions in Bengal, p. 8.

⁴ Journal of Indian History, Vol. III, Part, 2. Vide Mr. Ramsbotham's article on the Qanungos. His "studies in the land Revenue History of Bengal" (p. 154 etc.) may also be consulted.

land-revenue was practically impossible.⁵ Mir Qasim was fully aware of their importance, and was determined to curb their traditional authority. He commenced the policy of restricting their duties and influence, and did not put any trust in them. He effectively restrained their usurpation;⁶ and if he had long been in power, their inordinate consequence would have absolutely disappeared. Originally⁷ meant to be guides in the collection of the revenues, and employed as a valuable check on the zemindars and government officers, the Qanungos had, with the breakdown of the Mughal government, acquired an excessive power which they only too frequently abused to the detriment of the government. The Nawab was therefore not unjustified in refusing to repose any confidence in them. It may be added that after the restoration of Mir Jafar, however, the Qanungos again acquired their former importance.

The outstanding feature of Mir Qasim's revenue policy, however, was his pronounced aversion to the zemindars.⁸ He made it a settled policy to reduce their power, and bring them under the strictest control.⁹ It is clear that, if the Nawab had ruled for a sufficiently long period, he would have put an end to the very institution of the zemindars. His prejudice against the latter can be easily accounted for.

In the first place, the zemindars were regarded as politically dangerous owing to their local influence and resources, and could not be depended upon in times of danger and revolution. Ghulam Husain who appears to have been strongly prejudiced against the zemindars as a class has vindicated the Nawab's hostility to them on the ground that the latter were a set of treacherous, short-sighted, and refractory people always ready to turn against the government, and profit by its difficulties.¹⁰

⁵ Board of Revenue, Original Consultations, May 18, 1787. No. 63. (Vide Mr. Patterson's report.)

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 47, and also p. 66.

⁸ Siyar, p. 698.

Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S. V. p. 352).

⁹ Siyar, p. 708.

Vansittart's Narrative, III, pp. 381-2.

¹⁰ Siyar, p. 698.

In the second place, some of the zemindars had come to occupy the position of little potentates in their country, and were openly defiant on the strength of their armies and forts which they had at their disposal. The powerful zemindars such as those of Burdwan, Birbhum, Bishnupur, or those of the Bhojpur country in Bihar possessed large military forces of their own, and with the help of these they could frequently rise against the government, or join any invader. The Nawab naturally looked upon the unusual military resources of these zemindars as a source of real danger to his authority. Their hostile conduct during the incursions of the Shahzadah convinced him of the immediate necessity of overthrowing their power.

In the third place, the Nawab intended to collect all that the ryots paid, and considered the emoluments of the zemindars a huge loss to the state. His idea seems to have been that the zemindars exacted from the ryots an unduly large amount for themselves, and thus defrauded the government of its just share of the revenues. The existence of such middlemen was therefore bound to appear objectionable to the Nawab who wanted to squeeze everything for himself, and leave only the minimum amount for the intermediate agency.¹¹

In the fourth place, the Nawab believed that the zemindars deliberately and fraudulently concealed the real value of the lands thus making it difficult for the government to ascertain and realise its proper dues. Collusion with the corrupt Qanungos would always enable them to hold back all the vital information concerning their lands, or profits.

In the fifth place many of the zemindars earned the displeasure of the Nawab for having been reported to have made friends with the Company's mutasaddis with a view to lessen the revenues. Not long after his accession the Nawab complained of it to the Governor

¹¹ "Original Minutes of the Governor-General and Council of Fort William on the Settlement and Collection of the Revenues of Bengal, with a Plan of Settlement, recommended to the court of Directors in January, 1776". By Phillip Francis, p. 23. "Minute of Mr. Shore respecting the Permanent Settlement of the lands in the Bengal Provinces", dated June 18, 1789.

Burke was guilty of very little exaggeration when he declared in the House of Commons during the trial of Warren Hastings "...he (the Nawab) began a

who hastened to assure him that the company's mutasaddis would be punished in case they combined with the zemindars, and that no attention would be paid to the requests of the latter for the reduction of the revenues.¹²

In the sixth place, the zemindars were frequently known to have lent to, or borrowed from the gentlemen of the factories, or the Company's gumashtahs. The active partisanship of the latter was alleged to have encouraged the zemindars to withhold large balances due to the government.¹³ The Governor had finally to prohibit the practice of the factory people to lend to, or borrow from the zemindars and other subordinates of the government.¹⁴

In the seventh place, the zemindars usually under little check freely tyrannised over the helpless ryots, and practised every species of imposition and exaction. The Nawab had thus a good ground for chastising the rapacious zemindars¹⁵ who were guilty of violence, or oppression of any sort.

Lastly, it is apparent that the Nawab meant to follow in the footsteps of one of his distinguished predecessors, Murshid Quli Khan,¹⁶ who had kept the zemindars under a thorough submission and had aimed at putting the collections as far as possible into the hands of his own 'amils' in order to reduce the power of the former.¹⁷

Mir Qasim's policy of subverting the order of the hereditary landlords was not a novel one. What is significant is that he adopted the principle of his predecessors, followed it consistently, and made it a prominent feature of his government. That the zemindari system in Bengal escaped extinction was really due to the abrupt termination of Mir Qasim's rule. If he had found time to mature

scene of extortion, horrible, nefarious, without precedent or example, upon almost all the landed interest of that country began to rack and tear the provinces." Vide E. A. Bond's speeches, etc. Vol. 1, p. 63.

¹² Trans. P. L. I., 1761, No. 121, p. 20.

¹³ Abs. P. L. R., 1759-65, p. 15.

¹⁴ Trans. P. L. I., 1762, No. 146, p. 77.

" " 1762-3, No. 2, p. 4.

¹⁵ Siyar, p. 712.

Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S. V. p. 606).

¹⁶ Vide Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p. 483, and Maasir-ul-Umara, p. 751. (Vol. III. Persian Text).

¹⁷ Siyar, p. 698.

his plans, the subjects of the state, as Shore pointed out in his famous minute on the permanent settlement of Bengal, "would have been reduced to three classes only, an oppressed peasantry, rapacious tax-gatherers, and an over-awing military".¹⁸ Permitted by Mr. Vansittart to dismiss¹⁹ the Zemindars at his will, the Nawab during the very commencement of his rule dispossessed numerous zemindars of Bihar and appointed²⁰ his own 'amils' and 'tahsildars'. Subsequently, he imprisoned almost all the principal zemindars of the country at Monghyr. His disputes with the English, however, proved to be auspicious for the zemindars who welcomed the overthrow of the Nawab with a sigh of relief.

The prime object of Mir Qasim's strict revenue administration was to resume for the benefit of the central exchequer all the concealed exactions of the zemindars, faujdars, or jagirdars, and thus easily augment the resources of the government. These so-called resummptions made by the Nawab were actuated by the desire to collect all that the cultivators and ryots actually paid. The profits derived from such increased collections were known as 'Kifayet'. By bringing to account the private exactions, the Nawab made an immense increase of revenue. The enhancement was made under the following heads:—

- (A) '*Kifayat Hast-o-bud*'. This increase demanded on a rigorous examination of the rent rolls, and the past and present sources of gross revenue was confined²¹ to the two great frontier zemindaries of Birbhum and Dinajpur. The major part of Birbhum had been assigned since the time of Akbar for the maintenance of a local militia to guard the western frontiers, hence the rajas of Birbhum, being the Wardens of the Western marches, had considerable resources at their command, and after the death of Ali Vardi Khan even aspired after independence. It was thus

¹⁸ Fifth Report on East India Affairs, 1812.
(Calcutta Reprint) Vol. II. p. 17.

¹⁹ Abs. P. L. I., 1759-65, p. 11.

²⁰ Abs. P. L. R., 1759-65, p. 12 and p. 17.

²¹ Vide Grant's Historical and Comparative Analysis of the Finances of Bengal.

also a political necessity to resume the assigned lands, scrutinise the actual collections, and reduce the militia corps of the raja. As the latter would not submit peacefully, the Nawab had recourse to military operations, and compelled him to accept an enhanced assessment,²² Dinajpur had also been originally lightly assessed, and its farming zemindar was alleged to have withheld from the government vast profits derived from increased cultivation and resumption of jagir lands. The total additional revenue resulting from the 'hast-o-bud' investigations in Birbhum and Dinajpur was estimated by Mr. James Grant at Rs. 14,72,599.²³

- (B) "*Kifayet Faujdari*". These profits similarly arose from the fresh territorial assessments of the various frontier districts held by the faujdars who had been clandestinely exacting for their own benefit large amounts in addition to the usual revenue. The Nawab could not have tolerated these supposed defalcations, and he took steps to bring these concealed collections to the credit of the government. The total profits accruing from the resumption of the private collections in Dacca, Purnea, Rangpur, Rajmahal, Chittagong and Burdwan amounted to Rs. 32,15,295.²⁴
- (C) "*Kifayat Sair*". These profits were derived by carrying to public credit the fraudulent exactions in custom duties etc. The Nawab brought to account the defalcations of the subordinates who had been held to have defrauded the government of large profits arising from markets, customs, duties, of various licenses. The total amount of "Sair" increase was Rs. 4,58,944.²⁵
- (D) "*Resumptions of the surplus assessments on Jagir*

²² Siyar, p. 698.

²³ Fifth Report, Vol. II, p. 239.

²⁴ Ibid, p. 236.

²⁵ Ibid.

lands". The Nawab exhibited an unusual skill in resuming the accumulated assessments levied²⁶ by the holders of the important temporary jagirs, and including this increased amount in the 'jamabandi' of Jafar Khan. The amount so resumed by the Nawab was no less than Rs. 18,81,014.

Besides the aforesaid "resumptions" the Nawab had recourse to another questionable expedient of effecting an immediate increase in revenue. Owing to a marked depreciation in the value of silver coins, the government had been forced to adopt the practice of annual re-coinage in order to compensate itself by subjecting the 'sikkahs' of the previous year²⁷ to a 'Battah'²⁸. The zemindars, however, used to levy the whole, and more frequently a larger 'battah' from the ryots on a false plea of indemnification, although they had to pay no discount on the coins of the current year, in which they were to pay their revenue. Mir Qasim being apprised of this fraudulent practice seems to have concluded that larger assessment could be easily borne by the country than was admitted in the annual 'band-o-bast'. On this assumption, he ordained a general increase in the levy to the extent of 1½ annas, or 3/32 parts of the existing crown rents. The total increase in this manner amounted according to Mr. James Grant,²⁹ to Rs. 4,53,448. The amount was estimated at a slightly lower figure by Mr. Verelst whose estimate was adopted in its report by the Committee of Secrecy in 1773. According to the latter, the Nawab made an addition of Rs. 4,50,164-2-9.³⁰

In order to secure the maximum revenue, the Nawab took great pains to introduce the strictest economy in the expenses of collection, besides detecting and resuming all the concealed exactions of

²⁶ Grant's Historical and comparative Analysis of the Finances of Bengal.

²⁷ According to the mint books of Calcutta, dated March 3, 1760, the Murshidabad 'sikkah' weighed 179·65 grains.

²⁸ It appears from Hastings's "Regulations proposed for the government of Bengal" that the Nawab had intended to reduce the 'battah' and mix an alloy of copper in the proportion of 9% with the rupees but these currency reforms were never actually carried out.

²⁹ Grant's Historical and Comparative Analysis of the Finances of Bengal. His figure is taken from Muhammad Raza Khan's assessment.

³⁰ Fourth Report from the Committee of Secrecy, 1773, p. 3, and p. 96.

the zemindars, farmers, faujdars and jagirdars. He appointed 'amils'⁸¹ for the efficient collection of the revenues, and the latter were accountable only to himself.⁸² Through his amils, the Nawab controlled the main springs of the revenue administration. He checked the extraordinary power of the Ray Rayan⁸³ and cut down the enormous stipends of the intermediate agency.⁸⁴

It is easy to account for the Nawab's unusual severity in collections. The very precariousness of his position led him to make an exorbitant increase in revenue, and reduce the cost of collection to the bare minimum. He not only intended to make his government financially solvent, and meet the demands of the Company, but had also determined from the outset to throw off the yoke of the English and prepare for the eventual hostilities. His ambition could be fulfilled, only if he had the funds to equip and maintain a large and efficient army. He thus badly needed money, and the only way of raising it was the strict enforcement of economy on the one hand, and the pitiless augmentation of revenue on the other. It may be that the Nawab in increasing the revenues was partly inspired by the example of some of his predecessors, like Murshid Quli Khan, Shuja Khan, and Ali Wardi Khan who had all imposed fresh 'abwabs' in addition to the original 'Tumar-jama' or Todarmal's settlement, but it cannot be overlooked that the former impositions had been insignificant in amount when compared to those of Mir Qasim. The latter enforced in two years an increase which surpassed the total addition made during the last two centuries!

Mir Qasim's revenue policy was not only strict, but was also vitiated by a strange disregard of the ultimate consequences of his extortionate demands. Had he been a prudent financier, he would not have preferred an immediate abnormal increase of revenue to a permanent growing income. He was only a relentless collector, rather than a far-sighted statesman. As such, his revenue adminis-

⁸¹ Sixth Report, 1782, appendix, 15.

Muzaffar-Namah (Alld. Univ. M.S. p. 333).

⁸² Letter from Murshidabad to the Calcutta Board, March 25, 1765. (Vide Miss Moncton Jones; Warren Hastings in Bengal, p. 70).

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Mr. Shore's minute, dated June 1789. (Vide Fifth Report, Vol. II, p. 17).

tration was no better than an organised plunder.³⁵ Shore whose knowledge of revenue affairs was unequalled felt constrained to admit, "..... I entertain the strongest conviction that Cossim Ali's demand was a mere pillage and rack-rent."³⁶ Grant's famous contention³⁷ that Bengal was under-assessed, and that Mir Qasim's increase had been perfectly justified has failed³⁸ to convince anybody, because his historical survey is based mostly on unreliable persian accounts "procured through the influence of a light and private purse,"³⁹ and his conclusions are tainted by wrong assumptions.

The Nawab had neither the time, nor the inclination to take the trouble of re-assessing the country after investigating whether the ryots could meet the extortionate demands of the zemindars. He did not think it necessary to get the lands resurveyed, and the actual produce of the soil ascertained by Amins and Shiqdars,⁴⁰ as Murshid Quli Khan had done during his regime. The mere fact that the intermediate agency fraudulently enforced additional impositions was taken for proof of the capacity of the ryots to bear extra taxation without distress. Nothing could have been more short-sighted. It should have been thoroughly investigated how far the impositions were just and equitable. The Nawab was, however, not eager to be benevolent. His purpose was simply to enhance⁴¹ the resources of the state by appropriating the alleged profits of the zemindars. It must not be forgotten that the ryots were not protected from new exactions of the latter who did certainly attempt to make up for what they had lost.⁴² Thus, the increased burden really fell upon the impoverished ryots who groaned under a double taxation in addition to a multiplicity of

³⁵ Ninth Report from the Select Committee, 1783, p. 54.

Sixth Report, 1782, appendix, 14, Francis: Minutes etc., p. 23.

³⁶ Fifth Report, Vol. II. p. 19.

³⁷ Grant's Historical and Comparative Analysis of the Finances of Bengal.

³⁸ Ascoli's Early Revenue History of Bengal, p. 47.

³⁹ Even if it be conceded that the twenty volumes of Persian accounts on which Grant based his estimates are authentic, they can be regarded merely as tentative budgets.

⁴⁰ For details regarding the survey of lands in Mughal times, vide Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II. p. 45, etc.

⁴¹ Vansittart's Narrative, II, p. 187.

⁴² Shore's Minute, dated June 18, 1789.

local exactions.

It has often been hastily assumed that the extreme misery of the masses during Mir Qasim's rule was due merely to the rapacity of the English merchants and their subordinates. That it was the crushing weight of taxation which was principally responsible for the excessive poverty of the masses is generally overlooked. A few details are available which serve to indicate the ruinous effect of Mir Qasim's exorbitant demands. According to Major James Rennell's account⁴³ about 30,000 families left the district of Rangpur in one year, and settled in Cooch Bihar which was then outside the Nawab's jurisdiction. Mr. Richard Becher, Resident at Murshidabad, wrote on August 26, 1769, 'Cossim Ally . . . by means of his extortions and unjust claims so ravaged and plundered the district (Dinajpur) that afterwards the Aumils of Jaffier Ally Cawn, notwithstanding all the abilities they could exert, could not collect more than ten lacks in the space of two years.'⁴⁴

It is thus perfectly clear that the Nawab was utterly blind to the future welfare of the country. He exerted himself solely to enrich himself as quickly as possible at the expense of the rack-rented cultivators. A policy like this was not far from killing the proverbial goose that laid the golden eggs. The heartless severity of the collections was not abated even during a widespread famine that raged in 1761.⁴⁵ The scarcity of provisions was so great that children were reported to have been sold⁴⁶ in Calcutta. The Governor requested the Naib at Murshidabad, in a letter dated July 24, 1761, to arrange an immediate despatch of rice to Calcutta.⁴⁷ The only relief that the Nawab appears to have at last afforded to the people was a temporary remission of duties on rice. Even this petty concession seems to have been denied by

⁴³ Reports from Committees of the House of Commons, Vol. V, East Indies, 1781-2, p. 36. For a detailed information relating to the revenue operations in Rangpur, Vide Glazier: "Further Notes on the Rungpore Records," pp. XXXIX—XI.

⁴⁴ The letter Copy Books of the Resident at the Durbar at Murshidabad, 1769—1770. Edited by Firminger, p. XXV. For the Nawab's settlement of Dinajpur. Vide the Fifty Report, Vol. II, pp. 121-2.

⁴⁵ Trans., P. L. I. 1761, No. 320, p. 158.

⁴⁶ Trans., P. L. I. 1761, No. 320, p. 158.

⁴⁷ Trans., P. L. I. 1761, No. 340, p. 170.

the exacting collectors. The Diwan of Hooghly had once to be strongly reprimanded for having permitted the collection of duties on grains in spite of the Nawab's orders.⁴⁸

In regard to the total annual income of the Subah under Mir Qasim, there was a difference of opinion between Grant and Shore. According to the former the total 'band-o-bast' of Bengal alone amounted to Rs. 2,56,24,223 at the close of the Nawab's administration.⁴⁹ Whereas on the basis of authentic records in the revenue department Shore held the total settlement of Bengal for 1169 (1762-3) to have been Rs. 2,41,18,9124-5-2.⁵⁰ Shore's figures may be regarded as fairly correct. According to the estimates of both Shore and Grant, the total increase made by the Nawab on the former revenues amounted to Rs. 74,81,340. To the revenues of Bengal should be added about Rs. 65,00,000, the receipts from Bihar, and Rs. 11,00,000, the 'Malguzari' of Midnapur.⁵¹ Grant estimated the net annual income of the Nawab after making allowances for all military and civil expenses of the government at the moderate amount of two crores. That this estimate is not far from the truth will be evident from the fact that the total revenues of the Subah in 1762, according to the accounts taken from the books of the exchequer, were Rs. 2,86,76,813.⁵² It is needless to add that the figures noted above relate only to the Diwani Lands, Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong having been ceded⁵³ to the Company in 1760.

It is a pity that no detailed, or authentic details with respect to the rates are available, but a rough idea about them can be formed from the statements of certain contemporary observers like Holwell and Bolts. It may be stated beforehand that the government dues amounted frequently to no less than one-half of

⁴⁸ Trans., P. L. I., 1761, No. 345, p. 173.

⁴⁹ Vide Grant's Historical and Comparative Analysis of the Finances of Bengal. For details vide Fifth Report, Vol. II, pp. 239-325.

⁵⁰ Fifth Report, Vol. II, p. 124.

⁵¹ Vide Grant's Supplement to the 'Historical and Comparative Analysis of the Finances of Bengal', June 30, 1787.

⁵² The East India Examiner, No. III, September 13, 1766, p. 16.

⁵³ For details regarding the revenues of the ceded lands vide Fifth Report, II, pp. 257-60, and Fourth Report from the Committee of Secrecy, 1773.

Mr. Johnstone in his "Letter to the Proprietors of East India Stock, p. 4." stated that the ceded lands yielded roughly £6000,000 per annum.

the gross produce.⁵⁴ Besides the ordinary land rents, the ryot was also forced to pay the additional 'abwabs' imposed by the state as well as by the zemindars. It would therefore be no exaggeration to state that hardly anything was left to the peasants beyond a bare subsistence. "In the aggregate", as Sir W. Hunter puts it, "so much was taken by the state as to leave the land no selling value beyond that of the crop on it". The average ground rent was three 'sikkah' rupees per bigha⁵⁵ (about one-third of an acre), but this is only a moderate estimate, and is applicable only to rice producing lands. The rate for peas, wheat, barley, and other grains was never less than half the produce, and that for opium, sugarcane, or betel varied from seven to thirty-two 'sikkah' rupees per bigha.⁵⁶

Mir Qasim's revenue administration devoid as it was of every principle of sound policy and statesmanship marked one of the worst periods of rack-rent and exploitation in the revenue history of Bihar and Bengal. The economic resources of the country were ruthlessly strained almost to the breaking-point for the benefit of the state; and the well-being of the ryots, upon which alone rests the advancement of an agricultural country like India, was woefully neglected!

⁵⁴ Hunter's Bengal MS. Records, I, p. 28.

⁵⁵ Holwell's "Interesting Historical Events", p. 221.

⁵⁶ Bolts; "Considerations on India Affairs", p. 154.

Miscellaneous Contributions

A VOTIVE STÜPA FROM BIHĀR

By O. STEIN, PH.D.

Two inscriptions are incised on a greenish (granite) stone, forming a votive-stūpa, one of a number of similar Stūpas and other sculptures, collected by Mr. P. C. Chaudhuri, I.C.S., lately Magistrate at Bihār Sharif, Patna. The Stūpa (Fig. a) which bears the inscriptions in characters of the 9|10th cent. A.D., has a quadrangular base of 1,5×13,5 inches and a height of 19 inches. Over the plinth follow three terraces; the middle part is projected in the width of the curved niches on each of the four sides, covering a Buddha-figure, seating in *dhyānamudrā*. Below the Buddha-niches go two *medhis*; the long-stretched dome of the Stūpa is surrounded by three tori, covering symmetrically the space of the dome in the height of the niches. On the top of the Stūpa the rests of a circular, now broken, cover are to be seen, with a small hole in the centre, perhaps representing a *harmikā* with the *yaṣṭi*.

I. On the upper of the two *medhis* below the reliefs begins the first inscription (fig. b), ending on the other face, containing the formula in a dilapidated form:

(Left) |*ye dha*|*rmā betu*|*prabbavā betu*|

(Centre) *teṣāṃ Tathāgato byavadat te*|*ṣāṃ*|

(Right) *ca yo nirodha*.

(Next face) |*evaṃ vādī ina*|*bhāṣramaṇaḥ*

This formula, the last verse of the Lalitavistara¹, occurs in many inscriptions; the following list, incomplete as it may be, shows the frequency.

1. Bakhra column, in its neighbourhood a Buddha image, with the formula above, slightly varying: *ye dharmmā betu*|*prabbavās teṣāṃ betu*|*Tathāgata uvāca*.

2a. Nearly the same text on a stone from the Sārṇāth Stūpa.

¹ KERN, Buddhism, p. 25.

Fig. a



Fig. b

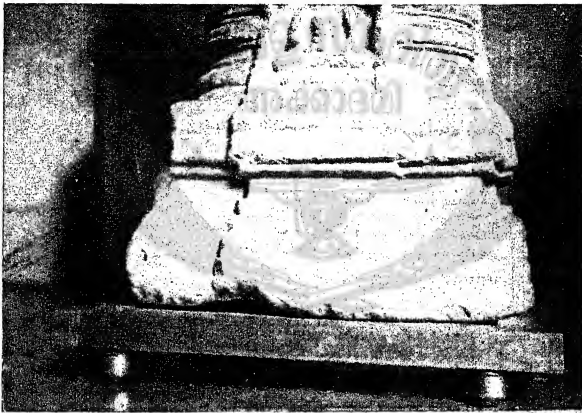


Fig. c



STUPA FROM BIHAR

(JASB IV, 1835, pp. 131ff.; cf. the remarks E. BURNOUF's, *Le Lotus de la bonne Loie*, New ed., Paris 1925, App. V, pp. 522ff.)

2b. On the back of a slab from Särnāth, "containing conventional representations of scenes of the Buddha's life. The characters belong to the 4th, or, perhaps, the 3rd century A.D." (KONOW, *Ep. Ind. IX*, p. 293).

3. Kaṇheri: JRAS, BB, VI, p. 13, No. 61.

4. On clay seals from Pākan Bihār (6 miles to the east of Sankisā, U.P.); CUNNINGHAM, *Archaeol. Survey Reports XI*, pp. 31, 33, 37, No. 13f.

5. On the lotus-seat of Buddha image in *bhūmiśparśa*-attitude in the Jardine Museum at Khajurāho, letters of the 9th cent. A.D. (D. R. BHANDARKAR, PRAS, WC., 1903|4, p. 47; No: 1991; *Ep. Ind. XX*, App. p. 262, No. 1871; a picture of the Buddha sculpture with the inscription in B. L. DHAMA, *A Guide to Khajurāho*. Bombay 1927, Plate XII a).

6. A number of seals from Nālandā give in Sanskrit or in Prakrit the formula. "This formula is found written usually in the northern script of about the eighth century (AD.), and even later, not only on the seals or plaques but also on a number of images, stones and bricks, excavated from Nālandā". (HIRANANDA SASTRI, *Ep. Ind. XXI*, p. 72).

7. Inscription on a square loose stone, found in a large modern temple close to the village of Devikā-pārā, less than ¼ mile east of the caves of Mahathān (near Kaṇheri). (E. W. WEST, JRAS, BB, Vol. VI, No. XXI, 1862, text and lithographed copy p. 13, No. 61).

8. In Tibet on a great number of Tsha-tsha's, Mchod-rten's and sculptures of Buddhist deities. (G. TUCCI, *Indo-Tibetica I*, Roma 1932, p. 27, 73ff., Nos. 1-27, 30-41, 44; p. 85f., No. 70f.; p. 88, No. 83f.; p. 91, No. 100; p. 95, No. 115; p. 97, No. 121; p. 106f., Nos. 148, 150, 152).

9. A small votive tablet from Pyogyngyi-Kon in South-Indian characters, "these few fragments, which may be ascribed to the 5th, to the 7th centuries A.D., are interesting as they are the oldest ever found in Burma bearing legends in these characters". (Ch. DUROISELLE, *ASI, AR* 1928|29, 1933, p. 107).

10. An inscription from Keddah, Malakka, see KERN, Verspr. Geschr. III, p. 255.

The present inscription may be one of the "numbers of short inscriptions of two or three lines scattered about Gaya and Buddha Gaya, and other places in Magadha, but most of them contain only the well-known profession of the Buddhist faith, beginning with '*ye dhammā etc.*'"¹

11. In the central part of the lower "*caṅkrama*" is a mutilated inscription (fig. c) in eastern characters of the 10th cent. A.D. incised, the left edge, the beginning, of which is missing; the last letter is indistinct, the following perhaps missing, as the stone is damaged on the right corner of that part; the inscription is continued on the right by one letter. The first letter to be seen is *ma*, with a superscribed *r*; before that the lower part of *dha* seems visible; as there was space for two letters only, one would suggest the reading: *d|deyadha|rma|* After that stands: *yaḥ acayanagara*. The following letter appears to be *kṣi*, the lacuna may have contained one or two letters; on the right side from the central portion *bbyaḥ*, is visible. The whole inscription, therefore, would run: *|deyadha|rma (!) |yaḥ (!) Acayanagarakṣi . bbyaḥ|* A town Acayanagara² seems to be unknown; nor is it easy to complete the word *kṣi* (?) . . *bbyaḥ*, perhaps *kṣitijebbyaḥ* should be meant.

¹ CUNNINGHAM, Arch. Survey Report III, p. 113.

² There exists Jaipur, which appears in Fr. BUCHANAN's Journal (J.B.O.R.S. VIII, 1922, p. 213) under the form Jainagar; about the Rājas cf. p. 273f., where the form Jainagar is found. It is the Jainagar, mentioned by CUNNINGHAM, Arch. Survey Report, III, p. 125, near Lakhi Sarai, 25°11' N. 86°6' E. On Ajaipur in Bihar, mentioned in Skandagupta's Bihār Stone Pillar Inscription (Corpus Inscr. Indic. III, p. 47ff. No. 12) and in Devapāladēva's Nālandā-Copper Plate (Ep. Ind. XVII, pp. 310 ff.)

See P. C. CHAUDHURI, J.B.O.R.S. 19, 1933, 337ff., identified with the village Ajaipur in Bihār, Lat. 25°15'. Long. 85°25'. Though the exchange of—*pura* and —*nagara* in the ending of local place-names is not of great importance, the *ca* in *Acaya*—offers a more difficult obstacle to identify the place with Ajaipur.

CHANDASENA OF THE KAUMUDĪMAHOTSAVA

By DASHARATHA SHARMA

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal rightly identifies Chandasena of the Kaumudīmahotsava with Chandra, the first Gupta ruler of Magadha, and for Chandra becoming Chanda in Prākṛit, he refers to the inscription of Chandasati, the Sātavāhana king, published in E. I. Vol. XVIII, p. 317. Such a reference is, however, perhaps unnecessary, because the Sanskrit name Chandra seems to be alluded to in the verse IV. 2 of the drama itself. The verse runs as follows:—

बहमाणो रेवद्विमुहमहुमअणिव्वत्तिअं उदवराअं ।

सामलवसनकलङ्को सोहइ चंदव्व बलभद्दो ॥

(वहन् रेवतीमुखमधुनिर्वर्तितमुदयरागम् ।

श्यामलवसनकलङ्कः शोभते चन्द्र इव बलभद्रः)

Here Mantragupta's spy, wandering in the guise of a musician, speaks not only of the moon, but also of Chandra, the Gupta ruler. Both can be described as श्यामलवसनकलङ्कः, the one on account of the dark spots on her surface, and the other on account of the sin incurred by the slaughter of his adoptive father. The phrase वहन् रेवतीमुखमधुनिर्वर्तितमुदयरागम् is clear in its application to the moon. But it has also a covert reference to Chandragupta whose उदय 'rise' was brought about (निर्वर्तित) by his marriage with a Lichchhavi princess.

Reviews and Notices of Books

EXPLORATIONS IN SIND*

By A. BANERJI-SASTRI

[Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India No. 48 being a report of the exploratory survey carried out during the years 1927-28, 1929-30 and 1930-31 by N. G. Majumdar, Assistant Superintendent, Archæological Survey of India, published in 1934.]

Since R. D. Banerji's discovery of Mahenjo-daro in 1922,¹ excavations and explorations at Nal in the Kalat State of Baluchistan in 1925-26 by Hargreaves, and a survey of Northern and Southern Baluchistan in 1926-27, and 1927-28 by Stein, have been followed up by examinations of chalcolithic sites in the Indus valley itself in 1925 by Dikshit and in 1927-31 by Majumdar whose finds are described in the memoir under notice.

The results so far have been to carry back the history of Indian civilization to at least the 4th millennium B.C., and to point out the connection of India with Egypt, Persia, Mesopotamia, Crete and islands of the Mediterranean.² If the discoveries of a chalcolithic civilization in the Jumna and the Gangetic valleys³ be taken into consideration, archæology has succeeded in linking up the Ganges—Jumna—Indus civilization with that of Persia—Mesopotamia—Aegean. Majumdar's explorations emphasise the maritime and riparian character of this civilization as pointed out by me in my *Asura India* p. 100. "Living in a flat riparian tracts, the Indus people could find almost unlimited scope for agricultural pursuits, like the Egyptians in the Nile valley or the Sumerians and

*Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 48, pp. 1—172, Plate I—XLVI.

¹ Marshall, *Mahenjo-daro*, Vol. I, pp. 103—4; Mackay, *ibid.*, p. 334.

² Frankfort, *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology*, Leyden, 1934, pp. 1—12.

³ Banerji-Sastri, "Remains of a Prehistoric Civilization in the Gangetic Valley", *Patbhak Commemoration Volume*, 1934, pp. 248—61.

the Babylonians in the valley watered by the Euphrates and the Tigris."—Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 146. The close affinity between the Indus civilization and that of the ancient Near East has been shown by Frankfort in the parallels between the typical finds at Mahenjo-daro and those excavated by him in the Akkadian city of Tell Asmar (2500 B.C.) and by Langdon in his excavations at Kish. In another direction, the chain of prehistoric sites in Sind from Limb Junejo in the north to Orangi and Tharri to the south, and at Nal go to corroborate Stein's stratification of certain sites in Baluchistan and his conclusion that the Kulli-Mehi pottery belongs to an epoch earlier than that of Nal: "some of the patterns appearing on the Kulli-Mehi ware, e.g., the bulls, fishes and the *Pipal* leaf representations, have become more stylized at Nal."—Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 151. If Kulli-Mehi is older than Nal, Amri pottery is shown by Majumdar's finds to be older than Mahenjo-daro pottery, specially in view of the stratigraphical evidence. (*Ibid.* p. 151.) The relative chronological position of the Amri-Kulli-Mehi, Nal and Mahenjo-daro pottery is intimately connected up with the relation of ancient India to the western world on the one hand and to the Jumna-Ganges-Pacific on the other. Regional studies, like those of Evans at Crete, Frankfort in Akkadia, Woolley at Ur, Langdon at Kish, Marshall at Mahenjo-daro, Majumdar's present explorations in southern Sind and mine at Buxar must precede all attempts at co-ordination and world-wide generalisations.

In an evaluation of this ancient Indian civilization, however, two questions should be kept constantly in view:

- (i) Chronology—does literary and linguistic tradition (however late) throw any light on archæology (specially pottery, terra cotta and script)?
- (ii) Extrusive or intrusive nature of this civilization and its ramifications.

(i) Chronology.

Ancient Indian history is divided into four distinct epochs according to the Purāṇas:

- (a) *manuṣya yūgas*;
- (b) the seven chief *ṛṣigaṇas*;

(c) Manu *Svāyambhuva*;

(d) Manu *Vaiivasvata*.

After the end of each age, follows an *interval* of, gestation or seed-time, *bijārtha*, *santyatya-rtha*, *santānārtha* and *santāna-kara* (*Vā. Pur.* 61, 158, 161, 48). The *interval* is due to the periodic destruction of the land through *inundation* or *deluge* or *pralaya*, a local catastrophe, which is to be clearly distinguished from *mabāpralaya* in which the whole world is involved¹. *Matsya Pur.* Ch. I). The *bijārtha* (Āpastamba) gradually leads to the restoration of population. The difference between *khaṇḍapralaya* and *mabāpralaya*, a partial and complete deluge indicates a local or universal destruction. In one case i.e., in a local disaster, a fresh civilization springs up; in the other, fresh forms of life start anew from the fish in the water slowly on to man whose history then merges into the history of individual cultures and their collective civilizations in definite areas. In short, it is the distinction between the geological and geographical background of the history of a particular country and people. In studying the history of India so far, both these viewpoints as recorded (however lately) in the *Purāṇas* have been mostly ignored. Consequently, the whole *Purāṇic* outlook has been treated as mythical.

Recently, however, archæology has been turning for help toward literature². The dynasties of the Kali age tracing from (d) above, Manu *Vaiivasvata*, are receiving such startling corroboration from archæological discoveries in coins and inscriptions, that the sages and rulers of (a), (b) and (c), after each fresh local upheaval or sinking-under, are almost murmuring out though at present unintelligibly pointing to the discoveries in the Indus-Jumna-Gangetic valleys mentioned above. Wild attempts³ have

¹ Winternitz, *Die Flutsagen des Altertums und der Naturvolker*, Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien, 1901, pp. 305-33.

For an account of the Deluge tablet, the contrast between Babylonian and Biblical accounts, Sumerian records and Babylonian legend, cf. *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. II, pp. 129, 200, 365, 497 ff.

² Langdon, *The Indus Script, Mabenjo-daro*, Vol. II, p. 431: "Working with the present material, I suggest to Sanskrit scholars that they choose the names of a few mythical heroes and of deities, and with the few identifications here made attempt to separate the constantly recurring groups of signs and compare them with these names."

³ Waddell, *Indo-Sumerian Seals Deciphered*, 1925.

already been made to connect them. A more systematic investigation is clearly indicated. A new history of Ancient India discarding worn-out shibboleths regarding Indian isolation and Phœnician philanthropy in endowing India with her arts and letters, but utilising the latest discoveries from under the ground and the Purāṇas above—a history dealing with Indian civilization under the four ages above, viz., (a), (b), (c) and (d), from 5000 B.C. to 1000 B.C., may help to supply many a missing link in both subjective and objective evidence.

As an illustration of the deluge and interval between (d) Manu Vaivasvata and (c) Manu Svāyambhuva chapters in the Purāṇas about 4000 B.C., may be mentioned the following independent archæological findings in Khotan, Sistan, Baluchistan and Sind about the 4th millennium B.C.

(i) Khotan.

"About 1,500 feet below the saddle the bottom was reached and then began a passage of fantastic rock defiles, the like of which I had never seen. For nearly three hours I marched between walls of conglomerate and apparently chalky rock rising thousands of feet above the narrow fissure at the bottom. As it appeared to me in my total want of geological training, *only the erosive action of water*, aided by extreme disintegration of the rocks under peculiar climatic conditions, could have produced these extraordinary formations. *But of water there* was no trace, only ankle-deep dust overlying the detritus. For the first four or five miles there was scarcely even scrub growing in these terribly barren gorges; animal life seemed completely absent. The want of water did not physically distress me, as it did our ponies and yaks, which had tasted no drop for more than twenty-four hours. Yet my attention was ever turned to it in contrast, by the sight of the huge, overhanging cliffs, the cavities, and isolated pinnacles, *which all looked as if water had worked them.*" Stein, *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan*, p. 234.

(ii) Mahenjo-daro.

"Our picture, however, would be wrongly drawn if we imagined Mahenjo-daro free from the havoc of floods; for if there

is one fact that stands out clear and unmistakable amid these ruins, it is that the people must have lived in ever present dread of the river. * * * Nor was it only against these occasional deluges that the people of Mahenjo-daro had to provide. * * * Each annual inundation might raise the level of the ground by only the fraction of an inch; nevertheless, in the course of a few generations, the danger of flooding from this cause would be a very real one.”¹ Marshall, *Mahenjo-daro*, Vol. I, pp. 6—7.

(iii) Sistan, Baluchistan and southern Sind.

“It may therefore, be safely concluded from the archæological evidence available, that Sind, like Baluchistan, Sistan, Transcaspia and Central Asia, has been subject to continuous desiccation, though to a more limited extent.” Majumdar, *Explorations in Sind*, p. 147.

The interval prior to the restoration of population, the *bijārtha* after the deluge is emphasised by Marshall, *ibid.*, p. 112: “Are we to assume that the Vedic followed directly after the Indus civilization in the Panjāb, or that there was an interval between them?” as against Langdon, Marshall makes the interval last about two thousand years, and in this he has the support of the Purāṇas. He and the Purāṇas further agree in thinking that the Indus civilization (possibly Asura according to the description in the Purāṇas) could then (i.e., at the time of the Aryan advent) have been but a mere shadow of its former self. (*Ibid.*, p. 112).

Would it be too implausible to say that the civilization swamped by this deluge in Sind and its neighbourhood belongs to the third epoch of ancient Indian history under (c) above, and the chalcolithic period of the archæologist corresponds to the Manu Svāyambhuva age of the Purāṇas—between 4000 and 2500 B.C.?

This leads to the second question—

(ii) the intrusive or extrusive character of this civilization, and its ramifications.

In the words of Marshall—“ * * * all the material of a

¹ “There is abundant evidence to prove that much of the ruin observable here (at Mahenjo-daro) is directly attributable to inundation,” p. 102.

religious nature recovered at Mahenjo-daro and Harappā appears to be characteristically Indian." (*Ibid.* p. 76). He, however, admits contact between the Indus Valley and Western Asia. (p. 76). The Indus script and the scripts of Sumer, Proto-Elam, Minoa and Hittite are interrelated¹. The pottery of Sind show distinct affinity with those of Mesopotamia and Egypt². But a comparative study has hardly begun. Indigenous and alien elements are yet to be distinguished. Thus though "an intimate relation between the Indus, Early Sumerian and Second Prediluvian cultures"³ in the fourth or first half of the third millennium B.C. (pre-Sargonic or early Sargonic times in Mesopotamia) is admitted, it would be premature to say anything about the pre-chalcolithic period or First Prediluvian culture in India corresponding to the Purāṇic epoch (*b*) of the seven chief *ṛṣigaṇas* or pioneers of Indian culture in India and overseas⁴.

In appraising this epoch fresh discoveries in two widely distant corners of the earth should not be lost sight of.

- (i) pottery at Sagunta in Spain: *La Dama Ibérica de Sagunta* discovered by D. Manuel Gonzalez Simancas in his excavations at Plaza de Armas; also terra cotta figurines brought to light in the Bulletin of the Academy of History, Madrid.

- (ii) script in the Easter Island noted by Fabri.

These (i) and (ii) pottery, terra cotta and script show marked similarities with the same in India, possibly more akin to the more primitive and earlier specimens. In this connection the importance of the Jumna Valley and Ganges Valley remains should not be overlooked. As Marshall is careful to stress—"Let me emphasize the fact, however, that we have no sufficient grounds as yet for affirming positively that this civilization was limited to the Indus Valley and the plains of the Panjāb. Ten years ago we knew nothing of its existence at all, and since then we have been too pre-occupied with the exploration of Mahenjo-daro and Harappā

¹ Mahenjo-daro, *op cit.*, p. 41.

² *Ibid.*, p. 101.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

⁴ Lévi. J. A. 1923, Juillet-Septembre pp. 57.

and with following up its tracks towards the west to find time for tracing it eastward across Rajputanā or down the valleys of the Jumna and the Ganges. * * * If it proves eventually to have done so, the term "Indian" rather than "Indus" may be more appropriate." (*Makenjo-daro*, Vol. I, p. 91).

If the chalcolithic chapter of ancient Indian History under (c) Manu Svāyambhuva presents the contact of the Ganges-Jumna-Indus civilization with that of the Euphrates-Tigris-Nile-Aegean, the pre-chalcolithic epoch under (b) the seven chief ṛṣigaṇas may open up vistas of a continuous chain resting at one end in Spain¹ on the Atlantic and at the other in the Easter Island in the Pacific—partially accounting for the curious interrelation of scripts and legends across land and sea. An intensive study of geology and linguistic palæontology, first regional and then comparative, may yield unexpected information. Till then, it will remain mere speculation.

Another suggestive speculation is the Purāṇic appellation of the first stage of the story—(a) *manuṣya-piṭṛs* in the light of human relics in the gravels of the rivers Godāvarī and Narmadā² and other alluvial areas of South India testifying to man's existence in prehistoric times³. These *manuṣya-piṭṛs*, our ancestors in India, have left their remains in their lake-dwellings⁴, in the areas stretching from the Narmadā-Godāvarī to Baluchistan across Sind, and their handicraft in the rock-paintings spreading through the range in South and Central India. Similar rock-paintings in Spain as published recently in *Les Peintures Rupestres schématiques de la Péninsule Ibérique* by Abbé Henri Breuil, Vol. IV, 1935⁵, raise thoughts as disquieting as the mysterious statues in the Easter Island later in age but of an inspiration of which the ancient memory of the countless islands of the Pacific may one day reveal the source.

¹ ABCD, Diaro Ilustrado. Ano Trigesimoprimerero. No. 9. 893. Madrid Dia 7 De Febro. De 1935, p. 7.

² Foote, *Indian Prehistoric Antiquities*, pp. 146—53.

³ Foote, *Indian Prehistoric and Protohistoric Antiquities*, pp. 146—53.

⁴ Majumdar, *Explorations in Sind*, p. 63.

Cf. also *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. II, pp. 567 ff.

⁵ Pl. XV. Pls. XVII—XLIV.

Notes of the Quarter

The proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held in the Society's office on Sunday, March 3, 1935, at 8-30 a.m.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James (*Vice-President*).
Mr. Sham Bahadur.
Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy.
Mr. G. E. Fawcus.
Mr. H. Lambert.
Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri.
Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.
Mr. J. L. Hill.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on December 8, 1934.
2. Passed the monthly accounts for November, December, 1934 and January, 1935.
3. Elected the following new members:
The Hon'ble Mr. J. A. Hubback, C.S.I., I.C.S.
Mr. Iqbal Husain, M.A., B.L.
4. Placed the Ethnological Institute of the Vienna University on the Society's exchange list.
5. Considered the arrangements for the Annual General Meeting.

Resolved that the Annual General Meeting be held on March 29, at 6-15 p.m. in the Science College Physics Lecture Theatre.

6. Passed the Agenda paper for the Annual General Meeting.

Resolved that Mr. H. Lambert should move that the following gentlemen be elected office-bearers and members of the Council for the year 1935-36.

PRESIDENT

His Excellency Sir James David Sifton, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.,
I.C.S.

VICE-PRESIDENT

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., I.C.S.,
Bar-at-Law.

SECRETARY

Mr. J. L. Hill, M.A.

JOINT SECRETARY

Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

TREASURER

Mr. Sham Bahadur, Bar-at-Law.

LIBRARIAN

Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

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Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Bar-at-Law.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., I.C.S.,
Bar-at-Law.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., Ph.D.

*Members of the Council (in addition to the President, Secretary,
Treasurer and Librarian who are ex-officio members)—*

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., I.C.S.,
Bar-at-Law.

Mr. G. E. Fawcus, M.A., C.I.E., O.B.E.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Bar-at-Law.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., Ph.D.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, D.Litt.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L.

Mr. D. N. Sen, M.A.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Fazal Ali.

Mr. J. S. Armour, M.A.

7. Permitted Mr. K. P. Jayaswal to make 250 reprints at his own cost of his article "Coins of later Mauryas".

8. The Editor of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society Journal brought to the notice of the Council the fact that the article by Professor Poure-Davoud on "The Mithra Cult" published in Vol. XIX, Part 3, had caused offence. The Council desired him to include in the Journal a note as to the circumstances in which the article came to be published.

J. L. HILL

Honorary General Secretary

March 6, 1935



*Proceedings of the annual meeting of the Bihar and Orissa
Research Society held in the Physics Lecture Theatre of Patna
Science College on Friday, March 29, 1935.*

1. The President His Excellency Sir James David Sifton, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., declared the meeting open.

2. Resolved, on a motion proposed by Mr. H. Lambert and seconded by Khan Bahadur S. M. Ismail, that the following gentlemen be elected to hold office for the year 1935-36.

PRESIDENT

His Excellency Sir James David Sifton, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.,
I.C.S.

VICE-PRESIDENT

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., I.C.S.,
Bar-at-Law.

SECRETARY

Mr. J. L. Hill, M.A.

JOINT SECRETARY

Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

TREASURER

Mr. Sham Bahadur, Bar-at-Law.

LIBRARIAN

Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

EDITORIAL BOARD

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., I.C.S.,
Bar-at-Law.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., Ph.D.

Members of the Council (in addition to the President, Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian who are ex-officio members).

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., I.C.S.,
Bar-at-Law.

Mr. G. E. Fawcus, M.A., C.I.E., O.B.E.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Bar-at-Law.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., Ph.D.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, D.Litt.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L.

Mr. D. N. Sen, M.A.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Fazal Ali.

Mr. J. S. Armour, M.A.

3. The Honorary Secretary presented the Annual Report of the Society.

4. The Honorary Treasurer presented the Annual Statement of Accounts.

5. The Vice-President, in a review of the year's work of the Society, referred briefly to the progress of the Society's publication of the Buchanan Reports and to the generosity of Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna Jalan in printing two of them free of cost; explained the circumstances in which an article by Professor Pouré-Davoud on "The Mithra Cult" came to be published in the Society's Journal; regretted the loss the retirement of Mr. Lambert would occasion the Society, and congratulated him upon the Doctorate the University was to confer upon him; welcomed Mr. Armour and the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Fazal Ali to the Council of the Society; and thanked Khan Bahadur S. M. Ismail for a donation of Rs. 50 to be spent as the President of the Society should think fit.

6. The President introduced Prof. H. Heras who delivered a most interesting lecture on "The Expansion of Buddhism in Afghanistan," illustrated with many excellent lantern slides.

7. The President proposed a vote of thanks to Prof. Heras for his lecture.

8. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal in a brief speech proposed a vote of thanks to the Chair.

9. The President declared the meeting closed.

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1934-35

I—MEMBERSHIP

The total number of ordinary members and subscribers to the Society's Journal on December 31, 1934, was 157. This represents a decrease of seven from the corresponding figure at the end of 1933, the Society losing four of its ordinary members by death and eleven by resignation, and the Journal one of its subscribers, while nine new members were enrolled. With the 13 honorary and 14 life members, the total membership of the Society stands at 184.

II—MEETINGS

The last Annual General Meeting was held on March 22, 1934, in the Physics Lecture Theatre of the Science College, Patna, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., I.C.S., Vice-President of the Society, presiding. After the transaction of formal business, the Vice-President reviewed the work of the Society during the past year. The meeting was followed by a lecture on "Mediæval Indian Sculpture" delivered by Dr. Stella Kramrisch.

Meetings of the Council were held on March 18, July 29 and December 8, 1934, and on March 3, 1935.

III—JOURNAL

During the period under review parts I and II of Vol. XX of the Society's Journal, containing 267 pages and 12 plates, have been published. Owing to our changing the press the publication of Parts III and IV of Vol. XX (a double number) has been delayed. They are now, however, ready in type. The Editorial Board is the same as that of the year 1934.

The Society has during the current year edited and printed Francis Buchanan's Report on Shahabad, which is now ready for

distribution, while work on the Bhagalpur Report is well advanced at the Patna Law Press. The printing of Buchanan's "Account of the Districts of Bihar and of the City of Patna" continues.

The Indian Institute Library, Oxford, the Indian Research Institute, Calcutta, and the Ethnological Institute of the Vienna University have been put on our Journal's exchange list.

IV—LIBRARY

During the year 221 books (291 volumes), of which 24 were Sanskrit, 2 Pali, 8 Hindi and 1 each in Oriya, Mundarica, Gujarati and Sora, were added to the Library. Of this total 48 were presented, while 149 were obtained by exchange and 24 by purchase. On December 31, 1934, the Library contained 6641 volumes as compared with 6350 volumes at the end of the previous year. Out of the Mayurbhanj donation to the Library the sum of Rs. 21-8-0 was spent on books during the financial year up to February 28, 1935.

The Society has been asked to house some historical records of importance at present in the Record Room of the District Judge, Patna. Mr. K. K. Datta, who has undertaken the heavy work of sorting these records, says that there is much in them of historical worth, since they supply valuable information about the early days of Indo-British administration in India.

The Society, through the kindness of Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, has been given 259 blocks of inscriptions, temples, sketch maps, coins, sculptures and other antiquities, originally published in the Indian Antiquary (now no longer issued). Some of these blocks may prove valuable in future, especially in cases where the originals have been lost.

V—SEARCH FOR MANUSCRIPTS

The search for manuscripts proceeded under the supervision of Mr. K. P. Jayaswal and Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri. Owing to the disturbances caused in North Bihar by the earthquake, Pandit Vishnu Lal Sastri was recalled to Patna in the first week of March, 1934, to help in arranging and preparing for the press the Catalogue of Manuscripts in Mithila, Vol. II of which, containing

Literature, Prosody and Rhetorics, has been printed. He returned to the Darbhanga district on October 11, and between that date and the beginning of March has catalogued 369 manuscripts. He was on privilege leave from February 2 to 15, 1935.

VI—ACCOUNTS

The Annual Statement of Accounts is being presented by the Honorary Treasurer and will be printed separately.

J. L. HILL,

Honorary General Secretary

March 10, 1935



*Statement of Accounts from April 1, 1934 to February
28, 1935*

A—The actuals for 1933-34 showed a closing balance of Rs. 4,010-9-2. With the amount transferred to fixed deposit, *viz.*, Rs. 2,594-10-9, the total balance to the credit of the Society was Rs. 6,605-3-11 at the end of 1933-34.

B—As regards the actuals up to February 28, 1935 the current account closing balance was Rs. 2,215-11-11. To this must be added the amount on fixed deposit, *viz.*, Rs. 4,372-7-9 which gives a total of Rs. 6,588-3-8.

C—The chief sources of income are the Government grant, subscriptions, sale-proceeds of the Society's Journal and interest on fixed deposits. The subscriptions realised up to February 28, 1935 amounted to Rs. 1,123-8-0, up to February 28, 1934 the realised amount was Rs. 1,129-3-7. The estimate for the whole financial year was Rs. 1,300.

Our realisations from the sale-proceeds of published literature amounted to Rs. 249-9-0 up to the end of February, 1935. For the same period last year, the amount was Rs. 203-0-4.

The interest on fixed deposits amounted to Rs. 77-13-0 up to February 28, 1935.

S. BAHADUR
Honorary Treasurer

March 13, 1935

Actuals up to February 28, 1935

INCOME

	Actuals			Revised Budget		
	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Subscriptions	1,123	8	0	1,300	0	0
Sale of Journal	237	1	0	200	0	0
Miscellaneous	106	10	0	10	0	0
Postage Recovered	20	8	0			
Sale of Catalogue of Mithila Manuscripts.	12	8	0			
Government grant	4,703	0	0	4,703	0	0
Opening Balance—						
Hathwa Fund	2,722	12	0	2,722	12	0
Darbhangra Fund	975	0	9	3,718	2	0
Refund of Loan	752	14	3			
Mayurbhanj Fund	201	14	1½	863	5	10½
General Balance	110	14	3½	110	14	3½
GRAND TOTAL	10,966	10	5	13,628	2	2

S. BAHADUR

Honorary Treasurer

March 13, 1935

Actuals up to February 28, 1935**EXPENDITURE**

	Actuals			Revised Budget		
	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Establishment	1,154	5	0	1,260	0	0
Mithila Pandit	1,162	5	4	1,475	0	0
Telephone	220	5	0	113	0	0
Printing Charges	1,318	6	0	2,200	0	0
„ Refund of Loan ..	752	14	3			
Postage	225	11	6	250	0	0
Stationery	44	9	0	60	0	0
Library	148	5	11	350	0	0
Electrical Charges	77	4	0	100	0	0
Out of Hathwa Fund ..	399	7	3	2,722	12	0
Out of Darbhanga Fund ..	1,437	12	9	2,040	0	0
Out of Mayurbhanj Fund ..	21	8	0	863	5	10½
Miscellaneous (a)	1,788	0	6	200	0	0
TOTAL	8,750	14	6	11,634	1	10½
CLOSING BALANCE	2,215	11	11	1,994	0	3½
GRAND TOTAL	10,966	10	5	13,628	2	2

(a) This includes Rs. 1,700 sent to the Allahabad Bank in fixed deposit.

Details of closing Balance in current account and fixed deposit:—

	C/A.			F. D.		
	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Hathwa Fund	623	4	9	1,700	0	0
Darbhangra Fund	302	10	3	1,991	2	9
Mayurbhanj Fund	180	6	1½	681	5	0
General Fund	1,109	6	9½			
TOTAL	2,215	11	11	4,372	7	9

S. BAHADUR
Honorary Treasurer

March 13, 1935

*His Excellency the President in introducing Prof. Heras,
lecturer of the evening, said:*

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

Prof. Heras, who has come here to address you this evening, is the founder and Director of the Indian Historical Research Institute of Bombay. His writings are authoritatively recognised as standard works on Indian History and he is one of the leaders of historical research in this country.

He is not a stranger to Bihar for he has represented our Society in Europe, has contributed to our Journal and has addressed us before.

Recently he was invited by the Government of Afghanistan to make an archaeological survey of that country, a specially valuable field of research, as Afghanistan was the gateway of India through which passed the successive cultural waves from Asia and from the Western countries, and I have great pleasure in calling on him to speak to you now regarding one phase of his investigations.

*At the close of the lecture His Excellency moved a vote of
thanks to the lecturer:*

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I am sure that we have all enjoyed this evening's interesting and instructive lecture, and I ask you to record in the usual manner a vote of thanks to Prof. Heras for the pleasure he has given us.

*Transliteration of the Devanāgarī Alphabet adopted in
the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research
Society from 1925*

Devanāgarī	Roman	Devanāgarī	Roman
अ	a	त	t
आ	ā	थ	th
इ	i	द	d
ई	ī	ध	dh
उ	u	न	n
ऊ	ū	प	p
ऋ	r̥	फ	ph
ॠ	r̄	ब	b
लृ	l̥	भ	bh
लृ	l̄	म	m
ए	e	य	y
ऐ	ai	र	r
ओ	o	ल	l
औ	au	व	v
क	k	श	ś
ख	kh	ष	ṣ
ग	g	स	s
घ	gh	ह	h
ङ	ṅ	लृ	l̥
च	ch	•	(Anusvāra) m̐
छ	chh		(Anunāsika) m̐
ज	j	:	(Visarga) ḥ
झ	jh		
ञ	ñ	×	(Jihvāmūliya) ḥ
ट	ṭ	×	(Upadhmāñiṣya) ḥ
ठ	ṭh	s	(Avagraha) ,
ड	ḍ		Udātta -
ढ	ḍh		Svarita Δ
ण	ṇ		Anudātta >

JOURNAL

OF THE

BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY

VOL. XXI]

1935

[PART II

Leading Article

REPORT OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL WORK IN 1933-34

By RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA ROY, M.A.

During the year 1933-34, besides continuing my ethnological investigations among some of the Chōṭā-Nāgpur tribes, I worked among the Mūṇḍā-speaking Juangs of the Keonjhar State in Orissā, and the Kor̥ku tribe in the Central Provinces. My monograph on the "Hil Bhuiyās of Orissā" has now been published, and monographs on the "Kōṛwās and Kōṛkus" and the "Asurs and Birjiās", as also a "Comparative Vocabulary of the Mūṇḍā (Austric) languages", besides a monograph on "Caste, Race and Religion in India" are in course of preparation.

The Kōṛwās with their dark-brown skin, stunted stature, broad and flat noses and narrow foreheads, are perhaps the most primitive among the tribes of the Central hill-belt of India.

The measures that the Jashpur State is taking to make the wild Kōṛwās tractable and amenable to civilisation are very interesting. By providing them with a standard type of huts and certain other facilities and concessions, a number of Hill Kōṛwā families have been induced to come down from their rude shifting habitations on the hills and to give up their predatory habits and

precarious means of livelihood and take to settled agricultural life. The State authorities in building a standard type of huts for them have very wisely taken care to conform to the tribal custom which requires that in a Kōrwā's hut there must be a small side-door meant for the egress and ingress of a menstruant woman for she is not permitted to use the usual door of her hut during her monthly course. These Kōrwā families who have been either induced by the State authorities to come down from the hills and settle in small batches of half a dozen or more families in some upland (dāṇṛ) are now called *Dāṇṛ Kōrwā*, whereas the unreclaimed Kōrwās of the hills who still live on the inaccessible ridges of precipitous hills and cling to their old untamed ways of life are known as *Pābhāṛi-Kōrwās* (Hill Kōrwās) or *Ereṅga Kōrwās* (wild Kōrwās) and also *Dhanwārs* (Bow-men). Some of them also dwell in isolated huts, in small groups of two or three families, in clearances among the jungles. Their unusually long bows and their arrows hanging from their locks of matted hair mark them out from their neighbours.

Those Kōrwā families who have been driven by circumstances or prompted by a desire to rise in the social and economic scale to settle down as agriculturists or labourers in the plains villages in association with more civilised tribes and castes are known as *Dibari Kōrwās* or village Kōrwās.

A few Hinduised land-holding Kōrwā families, such as the Diwān family of Khuria and the Mānjhi family of Bāgāichā in the Jashpur State now lay claim to Chhatri or Rājput rank; but their pretensions are belied by their matrimonial alliances with the common Kōrwā families.

The Kōrwās are not however confined to the Jashpur and Surguja States alone, but are distributed over a large area.

The total population of the Kōrwā, according to the Census of 1931, was 42,064. Of this number the Central Provinces States account for 26,192 out of whom only 65 profess Christianity; 18,553 (9207 males and 9,346 females) were recorded as Hindus and only 7574 (3,644 males and 3,930 females) as adhering to their tribal religion. These are distributed as follows:—

Jashpur State:—11,674 including 7,686 (3,770 males and 3,916 females) recorded as Hindus; 3,923 (1,877

males plus 2,046 females) recorded as following the tribal religion; and 65 Christians.

Surguja State:—13,455 including 10,788 (5,398 males and 5,390 females) recorded as Hindus, and 2,667 (1,350 males and 1,317 females) as following their tribal religion.

Udaipur State:—976 (414 males and 562 females) following their tribal religion.

Sakti State:—74 (37 males and 37 females) recorded as Hindus.

Korea State:—5 (2 males and 3 females) recorded as Hindus, and 8 (3 males and 5 females) following their tribal religion.

In the British Districts of the Central Provinces, the Kōṛwā population is only 384, namely 370 in the Bilaspur District and 14 in the Raipur District. Chōṭā Nāgpur has a Kōṛwā population of 13,021 distributed as follows:—Ranchi District 1,495, Palāmau District 11,303, and the Singhbhum District 223. In the United Provinces there is a small Kōṛwā population of 467, namely, 257 in the Benares District, 193 in the Mirzapur District, 22 in the Cawnpore District and 1 in the Rai Bareli District. It is in the hills of Jashpur and Surguja, however, that the most primitive Hill Kōṛwās are still to be met with. And a comparative study of the village Kōṛwās of the Rānchi District and the Wild Kōṛwās of the Khurea hills of the Jashpur State is of great anthropological interest.

Most Kōṛwās of the Jashpur and Surguja States (I met a number of Surguja Kōṛwās in the State prison in Jashpurnagar and expect to see others in their native hills in Surguja during the next field-season) assert that they are the autochthones of those States which they now inhabit. But the more enlightened amongst them claim to have originally lived further to the west of the Surguja State. Thus I was told by some Hinduised Kōṛwās of the Jashpur State that their ancestors came first to Surguja and then to the Jashpur State from Diakul Biṭkuli and Ratanpur Biṭkuli further to the west of Surguja and found the Jashpur country under the domination of a Rājā of the Dōm tribe whom they conquered and drove away.

The Khuria Pargana of Jashpur was then full of jungles which their ancestors partially cleared and of which they remained absolute masters till conquered by the ancestors of the present Rājā of Jashpur, some twelve generations ago. The Kōṛwā ancestors of the present Manjhi family of Bāgāichā (within the Bāgāichā Police area of Jashpur) and of the present Dewan family of Khuria claim to have led the other Kōṛwā families to their present habitat in the Jashpur State. Ambitious of rising in the social scale, the Manjhi family of Kakea now assert that they were in origin Rājputs of the *Haibo bamś* and the Dewan family of Khuria claim that they were in origin Rājputs of the *Bāgbel bamś*, and that the Kōṛwās composed the rank and file of the army which their ancestors led against the then Dōm Rājā of Jashpur. After the victory was won, the Kōṛwā soldiery demanded of the ancestors of the present Dewan and Manjhi families to give their daughters in marriage to them and to interdine with them. Their ancestors at first resisted, but, on penalty of death, had to submit, and in token of their submission to the demand, they were obliged to throw away the sacred thread (*janēu*) they had so long worn as an insignia of their Kshatriya or Rājput lineage. Since then, they say, they have been included among the Kōṛwās. And now the Dewan family of Khuria are reckoned as Kōṛwās of the totemistic *Hānsdā* (wild duck) clan and the Manjhi family of Kakea are reckoned as Kōṛwās of the *Edgey* Clan and intermarry with Kōṛwās of the *Muribar* and *Samat* Clans.

The Hill Kōṛwā, however, has no pretensions to high birth. Though the name "Kōṛwā", like the tribal names of most other branches of the Muṇḍā stock, is a variant of the term man (*bōṛ* in Kōṛwā, 'bar' in Santālī, 'bo' or 'boṛo' in the Hō language, 'Koṛo' in Muāsi), a tradition among the Hill Kōṛwās trace the origin of the tribe to certain scare-crows made of bamboos which are said to have been set up to frighten away wild animals from their fields by the first men who raised crops in Surguja. These dangling figures, it is said, were vivified by the Great Spirit to spare His votaries the trouble of continually reconstructing the scare-crows. The fear-inspiring scare-crows, thus turned into living human beings, were the first ancestors of the Kōṛwās. A second tradition says that the

first ancestor of the tribe issued out of an ant-hill. Both these traditions have their analogues among some of the other tribes of the great Mūṇḍā race.

As the ethnology of the Kōrwās will form the subject-matter of a separate monograph I shall not deal further with it in this note.

The fact that the Kōrwās are found scattered all over the Central Hill-belt of India, from the western plateaus of the Vindhyan and Kymore ranges in the United Provinces through the highlands of the Central Provinces (both British Districts and Native States) to the Chōṭā-Nāgpur plateau which form the eastern end of this extensive hill-belt, goes to support the tradition still preserved among some of the principal tribes of Chōṭā-Nāgpur of their former occupation of the valleys of the Sōn, the Jumna and the Ganges.

Pushed back from those fertile plains by the gradual advance of the Āryan immigrants into those river-valleys, the ancestors of the various aboriginal tribes now inhabiting these extensive plateaus appear to have sought shelter there, and lived for centuries unmolested and cut off from contact with the outside world.

Notes of

BIHAR AND ORISSA

Annual Statement of Accounts

INCOME

Heads	Actuals			Budget
	1934-35			1934-35
	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.
Establishment	950	0	0	950
Mithila Pandit	1,403	0	0	1,403
Library	350	0	0	350
Printing Charges of Journal				
Government Subscription	2,000	0	0	2,000
Sale of Journal	337	1	0	200
Subscription	1,329	8	0	1,300
Postage recovered	24	4	0	10
Miscellaneous*	156	10	0	..
Darbhanga fund				
Sale of Mithila Mss. Vol. II	12	8	0	..
Total	6,562	15	0	
Opening Balance	4,010	9	2	
Grand Total	10,573	8	2	

* It includes

	Rs.	a.	p.
1. Telephone charges realized from Dr. Asheshove	103	10	0
2. Telephone rebate	2	0	0
3. Refund of excess in a cheque	1	0	0
4. Donation of K. B. S. Md. Ismail	50	0	0
Total	156	10	0

the Quarter

RESEARCH SOCIETY

for the year 1934-35

EXPENDITURE				
Heads				Budget
				1934-35
				Rs.
				a. p.
Establishment	..	..	..	1,259 4 0
Provident Fund	..	..	..	56
Mithila Pandit	..	..	..	1,272 8 4
Provident Fund	..	..	..	72
Library	..	..	..	165 11 11
Printing charges of Journal	..	..	..	1,321 10 0
Loan from Dbg. paid	..	..	..	752 14 3
Telephone	..	..	..	238 5 0
Postage	..	..	..	265 11 6
Sationery	..	..	..	45 3 0
Electrical Charges	..	..	..	82 12 0
Miscellaneous*	..	..	..	2,009 4 6
Darbhangra Fund	..	..	..	..
Printing and postage	..	..	..	1,437 12 9
Huthwa Fund	..	..	..	399 7 3
Mayurbhanj Fund	..	..	..	21 8 0
Total	..	..	..	8,519 2 3
Closing Balance	..	..	..	2,054 5 11
Grand Total	..	..	..	10,573 8 2

* It includes

	Rs.	a.	p.
1. Transferred to F. D. Huthwa Fund	..	1,700	0 0
2. Actual Expenditure under the head	..	309	4 6
Total	..	2,009	4 6

S. BAHADUR
Honorary Treasurer

JOURNAL

OF THE

BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY

VOL. XXI]

1935

[PART III

Leading Articles

MUNDA TONGUES FINNO-UGRIAN

By W. F. DE HEVESY

In my previous paper (B. & O. R. S. Journal, No. XX, Pts. III-IV) I have demonstrated that no parentage whatever is proved between the Munda languages and those of Further East, viz., those of the Mon-Khmer family. The question then arises: Where do the Munda languages belong? In my opinion, to the Ugrian sub-division of the Finno-Ugrian branch of the so-called Uralian stock¹. Before giving my reasons for expressing such a thought, I may be permitted to recall something about the said stock.

A primeval language—the very one which in scientific parlance is termed Uralian—which originated in all probability westwards of the Ural, i.e. on European soil, was split up, presumably during the fifth millennium B.C., in the Samoyed languages spoken

¹ The Ugrian stock was formerly connected with the Altaian, and mention of an "Uralo-Altaic" family was frequent. Actually, and in spite of the last desperate attempt of Professor Sauvageot (*Recherches sur le Vocabulaire des Langues Ouralo-Altaïques*. Paris, 1930), the question may be considered as definitely settled: No connection whatever exists between them. See especially Professor Shirokogoroff, *Ethnological and Linguistical Aspects of the Ural-Altaic Hypothesis*. Péiping, 1931.

at present in the Arctic regions only, and into the Finno-Ugrian ones.

The latter branch was again divided, probably during the fourth millennium, into the Finnic and into the Ugrian. To the Finnic, which for us has the lesser interest, belong the languages spoken on the Baltic Sea, such as *Finnish* itself and all its dialects, e.g. *Esthonian*, further the language of the *Lapps*, those nomads living in the north-eastern parts of Norway as well as in some northern sections of Finland and Russia; then in the centre of Russia the *Syrjānian* and *Votyak* languages, spoken in the former government of Perm, along the rivers Kama and Viatka; *Tcheremiss*, especially on the left bank of the knee of the Volga; and *Mordvinian* spoken to the west and east of the southern waters of the Volga. The total number of speakers of all these languages is approximately about 6 million.

More important for us is the Ugrian branch, so called after a legendary country, *Jugria*, a country already mentioned by Arabian historians, and where the mother-tongue is presumed to have been spoken. From this tongue the first one to be separated, probably during the third millenium, was the *Magyar* or Hungarian—spoken actually by about ten million people in the Carpathian basin, and especially on the Danube;—then the *Vogulian* south-east from the end of the Ural range; and the *Ostjak* further to the east, on the banks of the Ob, Irtych and some smaller Siberian rivers. In spite of the fact that only about 5,000 *Vogulian* and 20,000 *Ostjak*-speaking people still exist, these languages have been very extensively studied.

I think that the Munda languages have to range between these Siberian languages and the Magyar; in other words, during the third millenium they left the common stock only after Magyar. The distance is not a proof against such a supposition, as the distance between Magyar and *Ostjak*, which with *Vogul* are the most closely related, is not much more than between the Danube and India. A possible reason for the migration of the tribes dwelling at the time in the Russian steppes has also been discovered recently. It was the fame of the high culture and wealth of ancient pre-Aryan India, wealth being at all times the strongest attraction for migra-

tions. That the fame of the Indus Valley's (Mohenjo-Daro) culture must have penetrated very far, is attested by the stones and metals found there, some of which, as for example amazonite had its home on the Ural, while others, e.g. jade originated from Central Asia.

That some intercourse between Ugrians and Mundas must have taken place, is now admitted also by *Father Schmidt*. But whilst he thinks that this happened somewhere outside of India, a migration to India itself seems to me, for the above stated reasons, more likely.—Prominent scholars are studying at present the archeological, anthropological and ethnological side of the question; thus we must not despair of seeing at a not very distant date more clearly into the whole matter.

The most correct way to compare languages is to discover the legitimate variations among the compared tongues; but this, owing to the paucity of lexicographical material, is as yet hardly possible for the Munda group. Nevertheless many interesting facts may be found. Apart from Santali and Mundari, the most widely distributed languages of the group, there are fifteen others belonging to the same family. Eighty per cent of the approximately 3 million people speaking Munda languages use dialects differing but slightly from each other. Danish scholars have given to this group—11 languages in all—the name *Kherwari*. I myself in my first article demonstrate how little can be relied on mere lexicological arguments while comparing languages; an exception, however, is made for words in which three consonants follow each other in the same order, and which besides are words expressing simple ideas. In such a case the mathematical probability that the words originally belonged to one and the same language is, in the case of Santali with its 15 consonants, 3375 to 1. In my book *Finnisch-Ugrisches aus Indien* (Vienna, 1932. Manz-Verlag) are to be found numerous examples of Finno-Ugrian words used in Munda. On account of the little space at my disposal here only a few instances are given².

² Unless otherwise stated the Munda words are invariably Santali words, written according to the orthography in *Campbell's Dictionary*; the Hungarian words are written according to the *Etymological Dictionary of the Hungarian Academy*, by Gombocz and Melich.

beret' (Mundari *birid*) to awake~Ostj. *veret*—*borŋa* magpie~Ostj. *uorŋa*, (Sam. *varŋa*) crow—*capadok'* to be thrown~Magy. *csapódik*—*ciribiri* in very small pieces~Magy. *csirbiri*—*coraŋ* to overflow~Magy. *csorog*, *csoronkol*—*kerőť* to turn~Ostj. *kerot*—*kudam* the back~Ostj. *xatemtem* to move backwards, (Tsch. *kodem* to leave behind)—*lajuŋ lajuŋ* slow~Ostj. *lašigam*, (Magy. *lassu*)—*lapordan* flat wide piece of ground~Magy. *lapor*—*musná* fine cloth~Vog. *mäsnä*, (Magy. *mez*)—*pađer* a tree (with leaves and berries like a mountain ash-tree)~Ostj. *padar* mountain ash-tree—*parak'* to carve (wood)~Magy. *farag*, (Md. *perkse*)—*petet* to roll, to card~Magy. *peder*, (Ostj. *piter*)—*piših piših* little~Magy. *piciny*—*raput'* to burst~Magy. *reped*—*roskot'* to rattle~Magy. *reszket*—*sarkao* to move quickly~Magy. *serken*, (Sam. *serkua*)—*serali* a kind of coot~Magy. *siraily*, *seraily* sea-gull—*siwiŋ* lean, thin~Magy. *sovány*, (Md. *išovine*)—*sokot*, *sokto* close, compact~Syrj. *cokit*, (Magy. *sok*)—*tepet'* to stop up~Wotj. *tupata*, (Magy. *tapad*)—*turtą* to invent stories~Ostj. *tort*, (Magy. *történet* story, history).

The existence of many three-consonantic words undoubtedly enhance the value of the comparisons between words with two consonants. Munda words for which FU equivalents can be found easily are among others *ac'* self; *alo* no, not; *ahji* elder sister; *apa* (*apu*, *apo*) father; *ari* much, many, more; *anu*, *unu*, many kinds; *bana* bear (see Lp. *boena* dog); *bađ* (Mundari *baid*) flood; *berel* fresh, raw (wound); *bir* forest; *boŋ boŋ* extended to full length; *buru* (Savara *baro*, *buru*) mountain; *cař* *cař* stinging, smarting; *carhi* mane; *ciřa* twitching; *coro* the sound of running water; *dak'* (Savara *daŋ*, *da*) water, (see Sam. *daga*, *jaga*); *det'* *det'* small (child); *enec'* to dance while singing; *eŋga* mother; *era* wife, spouse (as a person to be respected); *esel* fair, light coloured; *gij* (*gaj* *gaj*) hot and steamy; *goso* to dry, to wither; *hako* (Mundari *baiko*, *hai*; Bhumij *hai*; Kurku *kako*) fish, (see Ostj. *xuk*, Magy. *hal*); *hoř* man, human being, (see Finn. *koir*, *kor*); *burum burum* glowing ashes, (see Vog. *xulem*); *idi* heel; *isi* to cook, to be inflamed; *jel* (Kurku *jilu*; Gadaba *seli*) flesh, flesh meat; *jhar*, the liquor dripping from malt on account of fermentation; *kađhao*, *kađhiau* to take out with the hand; *kaka* uncle, father's brother; *kałaiya* a

kind of small raven, (see Sam. *kuleä* raven); *kaṭa* leg and foot from the knee down; *khac'* as, when, (see Ostj. *xoš*); *khok'* to cough; Nahali *kol* wife; *kos kos* to pull together tightly; *kotho* fat; *ku* (in comp.) moon; *kul* to send; *lak'* to chop wood; *laplapa* (*leplepe*, *lablab*) broad and flat; *landbu* to lie under; *lebet'* to tread with the foot; *lep' lep'* flapping the wings; *liloj* bad; *mas mas* feverish, suffering; *men* (Kurku *mand*) to speak; *muc'* ant, (see Ostj. *muži*); *muṅga* cudgel, bludgeon; *nel, nel,* to see; Mundari *nī* (Santali *jī*, Kurku *nic', nec'*) to open; *nir* to run; *nira* raw, rough; *nuruc'* slender; *ok'* to burn (while cooking); *ol* to spend the night lying down, to sleep; *ondok'* (in comp.) to give; *pala* frost; *paṣi* (Mundari *basi*) piece of iron (on a plough); *paṭet* to dam a flow of water, (see Ostj. *paṭ* fish weir); Nahali *peṅg* head; *piṭu* small like the ears, unadorned like the ears (see Ostj. *pit* ear); *podra* rotten; Savara *poira, poṣi* (Kurku *poḥara*) youth, child; *pusri* a pimple; *ras ras* to quake, to shiver (fever); *ripripi* to flutter with the wings (birds of prey); *rika* to make; *ro* to sing (in cooking); *runda* a kind of wild cat, (see Vog. *runt, rānt, ranta* kitten); *sar* grass or reeds for making arrows; *seya* rotten (containing pus); *siṅ* (Kherwari *siṅg*) sun, (see Ostj. *siṅg*); *sund* mouth, orifice, opening; *tak* season, proper time for sowing, (see Finn. *tauke* the spring crop); *tele* young louse of the kind *Pediculus capitis*; *thela* to shove, to push; *thele thele* abundantly, overflowing; *tor* squirrel, (see Sam. *tāre*); *tol* to tie together; *toyo jackal*, (see Ostj. *toyo* a shaggy dog); *tuka* nest, (see Ostj. *toxat*); *ujuk'* to fall (rain); *umdhi* to be drowsy; *uṭ'* (Kurku *hub*) hair; *uru* abscess; *uṭet'* to earn a living, (see Ostj. *ut* to live).

The position of words in a Munda sentence is the same as in FU, the genitive accusative and adjective forms are placed before.

Moreover it is to be noticed that in Munda there exists the characteristic Uralian alternance. Not only are vowels changed according as to whether nearby or distant objects are meant, but the consonants too show the same change as in Finn. and Lp. : besides the surd *sap'* "to catch" there is also a sonant *sabeṇae* "I shall catch him;" besides *geṭ'* "to cut," *gedok'* "to cut oneself," etc.

The difference between animate and inanimate in FU is even more common in Munda, and often the grammatical

treatment of such words is different. According to the Mundas all things are animate which have an internal substance, a soul, thus the sun and lightning; inanimate are for example trees, as also the human soul, because this latter does not possess an inner substance. Up to now the unexplained differences in the formation of Magy. words such as *tyuk* hen, with the plural *tyukok* as against *lyuk* hole, with the plural *lyukak*, *sas* eagle with the plural *sasok* as against *vas* iron with the plural *vasak*, *villámot* accusative of *villám* lightning as against *villámat* accusative of *villám* my villa, and even *ki napon* "on which day" of the older writings instead of the more common *mi napon*, may perhaps be explained in this way.

In Munda the plural is formed mostly with *-ko* (*-ku*, *-ki*): the same as in Magy. (see there originally *angyalok*, *utuk*, etc.). Even the former reduplication of the plural suffix, as in *lovakok*, *urakok*, etc., is also found in Santali, where e.g., for *onko*, *enko* (Pl. 3P.) we also find *onkoko*, *enkoko*, just as in Magy. there were *önök* and *önökök*. A dual form does not exist in all Munda languages; where it does exist (*-kin*), it reminds us of Ostj. (*-gen*).

The Munda indefinite pronouns, which like the FU are at the same time demonstratives as well as interrogatives, are *k_s* and *m_s*. Thus, for example, Ost. and Vog. *mat_i*, *māt_i*, *met* "some one, any one" correspond exactly to Kherwari *mit_i*, *met_i*; Santali *ki* "who" to Magy. *ki*, etc.

The Munda *a* (*o*, *u*), and *e* (*i*) corresponding to the Magy. demonstrative pronouns have a very important function in the former language. Only by suffixing *a* to the root it is shown that something really follows; e.g., *cok'*, kiss (in general), to kiss, from which we have the verb *cok'a*, and *cok'aea* denotes "he kisses her (him, it)"; in a similar manner Magy. forms *csókolja* from *csók* kiss (with the frequentative *-l*).

A thorough FU phenomenon is the strong utilization of emphatic particles. They characterize the Munda languages in a peculiar manner. Moreover we find often the same emphatica. So the Munda —*tet'*, (see *ac'* self and *ac'tet'* idem) corresponds entirely to the Magy. *tet*. In this language the suffix of the Perfectum, *-tt* has been

retracted on the said emphaticum *-tet*; in some Munda languages the suffix of the Perfectum is still *-tet'*, *-ted*. In Munda the emphatic *se* is very frequently used as an encouraging particle, just the same as *-sze* in Magy. (e.g., *nesze* instead of *ne* "take"). More often we find *ge*, an emphatic particle which along with Lapp., Md., etc., also appears to Magy., as in *engem* "me" (acc. of *én* "I"), *téged* "thee" (acc. of *te* "thou"). The Magy. word *igen* "yes", which according to Simonyi formerly had an initial *h*, is in Santali *hě ge*, *hě gen*. Strikingly similar is in both languages the function of the emphatic particle Munda *-ak* (*-uk*, *-ek*) and Magy. *-ik*, *-ék* (whereby it should be remarked that *-ik* once had the form *-ék*). Here as well there they form: (1) nouns from verbal roots; (2) reflexive verbs from verbal roots; (3) ordinal numbers; (4) they serve to strengthen the superlative form; (5) suffixed to proper names they have a possessive meaning: as from Magy. *János*, John, we have *Jánosék* meaning "the family of John, the people belonging to John," so also from the Munda proper name *Pandu* we have Santali *Panduk'* and Asuri *Panduk'* meaning "the family, the people of Pandu."

The 1 Pers. Pronoun of the original FU **mən* is in Gadaba *minṅu*, *niṅg*, and in Savara *nen*. The pronoun in the Kherwar languages reminds us of Magy. *én* (acc. *engem*), because with the exception of Santali *ih*, *eh* it is *iṅ*, *eng* throughout. The "mouillage" of the *n* of the genitive (see *enyém*) occurs also in the genitive in Munda.—The 2 Pers. Pr. reminds us of Ostj. (*no*, *ne*, *nen*) and Vog. (*ne*, *nü*). Nahali has *ne*, *na*; Kharia, *nom*, *am*; Gadaba, *nom*, *mam*; Savara, *aman*; Juang, *amande*, *amde*; the Kherwar languages have *am* (suffixed forms *-m*, *-me*) throughout.—In the 3 Pers. as we know, Finn. has *hän*, whereas Magy. has only more *ön*. In Munda it is similar: Korwa *hani*, Asuri *buni*, *hini*, Turi *hini*; the Kherwar languages only *uni* (*un-i*), *qni*, *ini*. "Self", as has already been explained, is in Munda *ac'*, exactly the same as in FU.—The plural of the 1 person, *bo*, *bu* (general in Kherwari), has a parallel in the bilabial spirant *b* of the Vog. conjugation with an object. But an exclusive form of this pronoun is also found in the Munda languages: *le*; it points out that the others are with the speaker. It is certainly not without interest that in Ostj. and Vog. *le* means "with".—The plural of the 2 Pers. is in most of the Munda lang-

uages *pe*, i.e., possibly the numeral 3 (*pe*, *upe*); only Nahali forms it by suffixing *-ku* to the singular form (*ne*, *na*).—The 3 Pers. Pl. has as its fundamental element *ko* (*ku*, *ki*)³ as we have already seen; the pronoun itself appears in various forms, such as *ako*, *oko*, and then *onko*, *enko*, *honku*, etc. (see Magy. *önök*). This *ako* really signifies "some, a few."⁴

Finally we should mention the dual, in which many Munda languages suffix *-n* on the plural form (*bon*, *bun*; then *pen*); Ostj. and Vog. show the same peculiarity with their *min*, *nin* or *men*, *nen*. An exclusive form of the dual is also remarkable, *lañg* "I and thou." On account of the very frequent change *ñg* ~ *k* we must ask ourselves the question: is this *lañg* not the same as the *-lak* which is to be found in Magy. in conjugations with the object in the 2 Person? There, as we know, *vár* means "to wait," whereas *várlak* "I await thee," etc.

With regard to the formation of the possessive case, it should be noted that while in the 1 and 2 Pers. S. it is formed by suffixing the abbreviated personal pronoun, in the 3 Pers. Santali, for example, adds *-t* and Mundari. *-te*. This is identical to Ostj. and Vog. Just as in Ostj. from *eñga* "mother" we have *eñgat* "his mother," so from Santali *eñga* "mother" we have *eñgat* (Mundari *eñgate*).—The Magy. possessive suffix *-ja* also exists in Munda; as the Magy. forms from *bárom* "three" *báromja* "the three of them", so we find in Mundari from *bisi* (Santali *isi*) "twenty": *bisiya* (*isiya*) "the twenty of them."—On both sides family names are used with personal suffixes. A Santal will not say *apa* "father," but *apañg* "my father."⁵

The comparative suffix **-mp*, **-mb* is admittedly lost in Ostj. and Vog. In the Munda languages too we do not come across it; in Magy., on the contrary, we have *-nyi*, *-szorors* and *-kor*, expressing order of quantity like in Munda.—The Magy. superlative prefix *leg-* also exists. In Santali from *bolo*, "in" *lag bolo* "quite in

³ According to Sten Konow the original form was *ki*.

⁴ In Kurku, the Munda language situated furthest west, the 1 Pers. Pl. is *buñg* (see Ostj. *moñ*, *meñ*). The 3 Pers. S. in the same language is *dič* (*di* and the possessive *č*); in the plural *diku*. See for the singular Vog., *tü*; for the plural Ostj. *tix*.

⁵ Instead of the expected *apañ*; i.e., here we have an exception before us.

the interior" is formed exactly in the same way as in Magy. from *bele* "in" we have *legbele*. Furthermore, both in Munda and FU the formation of feminine names is identical; from *Santal* "a Santal (m.)" we have *Santalni* "a Santal (f.)", just as we have from *Vogul*, *Vogulni*.—Moreover we have an analogy for the *nomen caritativum negativum*. Many FU languages use, as we know, the suffix *-tam*, *-tön* in order to form it; e.g., Finn. *äüne* "melody" and *äünetön* "voiceless." In such cases in Santali the word *ṭan*, *ṭon* "need, want" follows.

As far as the verb is concerned, Magy. Ostj. and Vog., as distinct from other FU languages, are known not to possess, just like Munda, negative forms, whereas this is a special characteristic of the Dravidian tongues.

The conjugation "with object", a characteristic of the Munda languages, is also one of the FU ones. The most developed exists in Mord. and corresponds exactly to Santali or Mundari, i.e. we find forms like, from *dal* to strike (an Aryan loan), *daltedko-ae* "he has struck them."

The sequence of suffixes is exactly the same as in Magy., i.e. "root+voice+mood+tense+copula+pronominal subjects and objects" (Hoffmann); see Magy. *futtatbattalak*, i.e., *fut+tat+hat+t* + *a* + *lak*, "to run + to let + to be able + have [past part.] + I + thee," "I have been able to let you run."

In the formation of substantives from nominal roots Santali makes use of many FU suffixes⁶. Even the Magy. *-más* "similar, like" is to be found there. In the formation of substantives from verbal roots Santali leads us to determine that the Magy. causative suffix *-aszt* goes back to *asz* "dryness, drought." The formation of nouns from verbal roots is carried out in an analogous manner; there too I could show 7 common suffixes. In forming verbs from verbal roots I refer to the 10 common suffixes given in my book; even that very common Munda reflexive suffix *-ao*, *-qu* is derived from there; the Vog. says *vou* "to call" and *vouou* "to be called." Finally, innumerable compound verbal suffixes in Magy. seem to be partly of Mundá and partly of Indo-Aryan origin.

⁶ Further material may be found in my book *Finnisch-Ugrisches aus Indien*.

In forming cases, many locative, ablative and lative suffixes similar to Magy. suffixes, are seen. Among these are found, besides the *bele* mentioned already, among others, *-on*, *-re*, *-té* (*-töl*), *-nié* (*-nál*) *-lag*, and perhaps also *mögé* (*meg*). *-int* "in the direction" has admittedly been derived from an original form **énté*; in Santali this form is still met with. Mészöly has derived Magy. *-val* "with" from an Ostj. *-ate*; Santali has the same, from *həti* "elephant" (IA) we have *hətiəte* "with the elephant" (Savara *-bate*).

After all these remarkable similarities let us now examine the *morphological differences*. That Munda possesses exclusive and inclusive forms for the personal pronouns is of little consequence, because all the languages of the Munda family do not possess them. More important is the use of *infixes*, since these are entirely foreign to FU, but peculiar to the languages of Further India (e.g., to Mon-Khmer). Apart from the fact that the use of infixes has not yet been proved for all Munda languages, such as for Kurku, isolated in the west, infixes do not have the same importance in Munda; e.g., it is possible to conceive of word-formation in Santali without the use of infixes, but not so in the Mon-Khmer languages. Hoffmann even reminds us of cases⁷ where Munda uses infixes only when "earnestly or carefully spoken," otherwise suffixes are used. We know that in parts of India inhabited by the Mundas the same peculiar type of stone adxes has been found as in Further India, an evidence that they have developed on a foreign stratum. It is easy to conceive that this stratum has had an influence not only on the loan words but also on the grammatical structure of the language. Therefore the infixation in Munda would be of a later date.—For *Father Schmidt* the fact that Santali possesses a *k* and a *t* infix, whilst Mon-Khmer and other languages do not possess them, constitutes a proof, that infigation was at the very origin of Munda tongues. I think that it proves rather the contrary. Infixes were, just as prefixes and suffixes, of course, at their origin independent words. (See here also the double infix *mn* in Khmer, and infix *wh* in Munda is not to be found.)

⁷ Hoffmann, *Mundari Grammar*, p. 180.

Consequently a *k* and *t* infix in Santali may prove rather that the two words which became finally infixes, did not exist in the Mon-Khmer languages, i.e. that *only the processus of infixation became common, but the original word-stems were not*. It is anyhow a pity, that *Father Schmidt* did not remember these simple facts, because then he would never have expressed, and what is worse, continued recently to uphold the absurd theory, that the Munda vocabulary, e.g. the Santali, was formed for a great part by prefixation. For the same two hundred words he quotes in his book as instances, *more than hundred different prefixes appear*. This alone makes his theory *a priori* definitely improbable. The *Rev. Boddington*, the greatest authority on Santali thinks, that prefixes do not exist in Santali not in any case at all, excepted a few Aryan ones in loan words, as *be, ne, nir*, etc., and I fully agree with him.

Lexicologically a difference is found specially in the cardinal numbers from 2 to 4; these are the same as among the Mon-Khmer peoples, and then as among the Jakun, a tribe at the southern end of Malacca. On the contrary it is probable that the numerals 5, 7 and 9 are FU (Ostj.). And perhaps 20 is also derived from the same source. Lastly the FU ordinal suffix **-mt* corresponds to Munda *mit'*.—May I be permitted to recall, that languages change easily the numerals; the Finno-Ugrian and the Samoyed ones belong both to the Uralian family and their numerals are absolutely different.

Cacuminal sounds, a peculiarity of Munda languages, are also met with in certain FU language, as for instance in Ostj. (*tš, š*). The original FU language knew the aspirated *k-*, *g-* as also *p-*, *b-*, *t-* and *d-* initial sounds of Munda. (This is stated on the authority of Wychmann.)

Of all FU languages it is known that in Magy. alone the medial *t* (*d*) becomes a spirant. It is a remarkable fact that in those Santali words which correspond to similar Magy. words (see e.g. *viz, úsz, kéz*), these medials always are cacuminal sounds.

In certain cases it seems that in Munda there is an *m* where in FU there is an *h* or *n* (examples are in Mundari *mail* tip of an arrow, Kurku *mad* read, Santali *mái* girl, *melot'* to wet the lips with the tongue, *-ma* suffix of the optative conditional, etc.).

For a long time it was thought that certain glottal stops, (in Santali *c'*, *k'*, *p'*, *t'*), were peculiar to the Munda languages. Gjerdmann has recently proved that such sounds are far more common than was formerly believed.

Of the vowel sounds we are told by Paasonien for Ostj. and by Bodding for Santali, that there are 24.—In a similar manner to the old Magy. forms, which as we know ended in either *u* or *i* (*kereku* instead of the present form *kerék*, *bodu* instead of *bad*, *bérci* instead of *bérc*, etc.), we find in a vocabulary of the Kurku language compiled in 1848 by Hodgson, the forms *kuretu* (falcon), *butu* (pea), *duju* (parrot) instead of the modern (Santali) *kuret'*, *but'*, *doc'*, and so on; further we have *singi* (sun) in place of the present form (Mundari, Ho *sing*), etc.

Even though clarity and complete certainty may be arrived at only after further researches into the history of the languages, yet it may be affirmed today, that there is a very great degree of probability, that the Munda languages belong to the Ugrian branch of the Finno-Ugrian (Uralian) linguistic stock.

As a connecting link between the Ugrian and the Mundas we have also their creation myths. Among the Voguls man originally was a swan, and it is the same among the Mundas. The earth was created when the Heavenly Father made an animal bring a lump of earth from the sea; in the Munda myth it is identical. Among both the peoples there was a primitive destruction by fire, at the end of which the Heavenly Father sent bailiffs to earth to see if all human beings were destroyed. In both myths there were two who were saved at the intercession of a woman. We see then that the similarity extends even to the details.

Santals when asked about their name and caste, usually apply the title *mañjhi* to themselves (Sten Konow). Vogulians and Ostjaks design themselves with same term; the folk-name *magyar*, in its original form *magyeri*, *mogyeri* is besides considered to be a composite of this vogulian *māñši* and the turk *eri* man.

Sabar is an old national appellation of the Ostjak's; and also the Magyar's appear in history, on the north-slopes of the Caucasus, in the Vth Century of our era under the same name. *Sabar* is also

an old name of the Munda peoples.⁸

It is not doubted that the Mundas were already settled in India when the Aryans invaded the country somewhere about 1200 B.C. The Ugrians split up into different dialects towards the beginning of the third millenium. There is therefore no difficulty with regard to the date. The incitement to the exodus might have been among other things, as already said, the news of the civilization of the Indus Valley; that the fame of the wealth and splendour of this civilization must have spread far and wide we see from the lithic and metal finds of Mohenjo-daro coming from far-away places.

The fact that a Finno-Ugrian language has been found in India puts, as I tried to show in a lecture delivered at the Paris „Société Asiatique”, four distinct problems before us.

First, the reopening of the debate concerning the relationship of the Magyars, i.e., the Hungarians, with India. This problem once made much ink flow. At present the Hungarian scholars are of opinion that not the slightest such bond exists. Of course it cannot be doubted that some ethnic mass of Magyar tongue, the actual Hungarians of Europe, was politically organized by a Turk (Hun) aristocracy. But it will be necessary to see whether in this organization there might not have been two Finno-Ugrian components instead of only one. The fact that the hitherto unknown origin of many Magyar words can be retraced to Indo-Aryan (and not to Iranian!) sources, and more than that, *also to Munda sources*, seems to support such a theory.

The second question which arises has reference to Dravidian. It is known that already Max Müller, Caldwell and others, and recently O. Schrader, recognizing Finno-Ugrian words in Dravidian languages, thought that a parentage must exist between them. To me their totally different morphology seems to exclude any such possibility. Words common to both could thus be simply loan words made by Dravidian to Munda. Besides Dravidians must be much older Indians than the Mundas.

The third problem is that of the relationship between Finno-Ugrian and Indo-Aryan languages. Until now only loan words from

⁸ See further re my book "*Finisch-Ugrisches aus Indien*" pp. 353.

the latter were looked for. In future it would be a good plan not only to look for borrowings from Indo-Aryan languages in Finn-Ugrian, but also in a contrary direction. Thus among other things it might be advantageous to examine expressions connected with water, as for example of Sanskrit *jālām* fish-net, Hindi *takhtā* ship's plank, *mañjhi* (boatman (in Sindhi presumably also "hero"), *pāl* dike, ditch, dam; then names of trees and plants, such as Hindi *padal* mountain ash-tree, *nim* the *Melia Azadirachta* Linn., *sana* a kind of flax (*Crotalaria juncea* Linn.), *saru* the taro plant; and names of animals, such as Bengali *paṅgash* *Silurus sagittalis* (see Ostj. *penkaš* pike); *kuttā* dog, *sābar* a kind of deer, etc.

The fourth question which presents itself is to ascertain how far, the influence of the Finno-Ugrian immigrants extended towards the east. It seems not entirely excluded that studies here would lead to some surprising results. To give an instance, the name for "iron" in Uralian, i.e., in Samoyed *basa*, *baza*, *vese* (iron), in Mgy. *vas*, *vos*, *vus* (accus. *vasa-t*), in Mord. *viskū* (iron, wire), in Finn *vaske* (copper), in Vog. *-beš* (in compositions like *atbeš*, "lead"), in Votj. *-ves* (*azves*, "silver," *uzves*, "tin, lead"), etc., seem to exist also in south-eastern Asia; not to mention Dravidian *wootz*, one finds in Mundari *basi* (in *kana basi*, the iron hook, fastenings staple to plough), in Santali *paši*; Mon uses *pasai* for iron, Old Javanese *vesi*, Malay *basi*, Battak *bosi*, the people in Timor *besi*, and on some islands even forms with the final *-e* appear, like *oase*, *uwase*.

The case is similar for words expressing "spinning" and "weaving"; the Finno-Ugrian words for these appear both in Munda (*uh*, *buh* and *teh*, as well as in some Mon-Khmer languages.

Summing up, it must be strongly advocated that, as a first step for further studies, dictionaries of the still neglected Munda languages should be compiled, above all of the isolated Kurku language.

ASTRONOMICAL EVIDENCE ON THE AGE OF THE VEDAS

By GORAKH PRASAD, D.Sc.

There are a number of references in Vedic literature which are very important from a chronological point of view.

1. One of the most definite of these is the passage in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa¹ which states that the Kṛttikās "do not move away from the eastern quarter, whilst the other asterisms do move from the eastern quarter."² Now there is no doubt that the Kṛttikās are the cluster of stars known as the Pleiades,³ and all are agreed that the passage refers to the direction the Kṛttikās and other stars have at the moment of their rising.⁴ Further, the above passage is given in a rule for the orientation of fire-altars. There should not be any doubt, therefore, that the exact eastern direction must have been intended when the east was referred to. This is all the more certain on account of the particular mention that the other asterisms rise in a direction different from the east. This gives us a means of ascertaining the age when this rule of orientation probably originated, because, as is well known, a particular star will rise due east only for a short period, and it would gradually deviate more and more from this direction as time passes, and would rise in the east again only after the lapse of about 13,000 years. This is due to the phenomenon known as the precession of the equinoxes. The date when the above rule of orientation was valid is therefore calculable, and turns out to be⁵ B.C. 2500.

¹ii. 1, 2, 3.

²Eggeling's translation (*The Sacred Books of the East*, xii)

³*Vedic Index*, i. 415.

⁴Dikshit, I. A. xxiv, 245, followed by others. The only other meaning assigned to this passage which the author has come across is by Dinānātha Culaīṭa, *Vedakāla-nirṇaya*, Indore, who derives the date B. C. 300,000 on his interpretation! A portion of this book, which is in Hindi, has been reproduced by Makode in I. H. Q. ix (1933), 923.

⁵Dikshit, I. A. xxiv, 245-46, obtains the date B. C. 3000, but the rate of precession used by him for the purpose is not quite correct. B. C. 2500 is

The question whether this is the date of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, or whether the Śatapatha was merely reproducing some earlier tradition in giving this rule is more difficult to answer. Dikshit⁶ considers this passage to be more or less contemporaneous with the rest of the book, and he is sure that this passage must have been composed when the Kṛttikās rose in the east, because they are spoken of in the present tense to rise in the east. The argument is perhaps not quite convincing by itself, but it must be remembered that a similar date is obtained by other lines of argument, as will be shown presently, and it becomes difficult to believe that the Brāhmaṇas are in every case recording ancient tradition. Before proceeding further with these, however, we would take up the objections which have been raised against the above arguments.

Macdonell and Keith⁷ have epitomized the objections as follows:—

The statement of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa is untrustworthy because (i) the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra⁸ has a similar notice, coupled with another, which, according to Barth,⁹ would only be true somewhere in or after the sixth century A.D. and (ii) the same passage, in the Mādhyandina recension,¹⁰ states that the number of the Kṛttikās is greater than that of the stars in any of the other Nakṣatras, which consist of one, two, three, or four stars, or which according to the Kāṇva recension¹¹ have four stars. Macdonell and Keith assert further that it is not possible to put much faith in this assertion, for Hasta later has five stars, and its name (with reference to the fingers) suggests five,¹² and that number is possibly referred to in the Ṛgveda.¹³

These objections do not appear to be valid. The passage in

nearer the truth. See also Kaye: *Hindu Astronomy* (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 18, 1924).

⁶ *Ibid.* 246.

⁷ *Vedic Index*, i, 427.

⁸ xviii, 5.

⁹ See Caland, *Ueber das rituelle Sūtra des Baudhāyana*, 37-39.

¹⁰ Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. ii, 1, 2, 2.

¹¹ See Eggeling, *Sacred Books of the East*, xii, 282, note 2.

¹² Cf. Weber, *Nakṣatra*, ii, 368, 381.

¹³ i, 105, 10.

the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra referred to is this:

"Here should the Śālā, whose supporting beams point east, be measured out. The Kṛttikās do not move from the eastern quarter. In a line with their appearance it should be measured, that is one possibility. In a line with the appearance of Śroṇa, that is another; between Citrā and Svātī is another."

The first alternative here is evidently the rule given in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. As this rule could not be applied throughout the year on account of the fact that for seven or eight months the Kṛttikās would rise when they are invisible on account of sunlight or twilight, the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra added two alternatives. Holding the Śatapatha in high esteem, and being ignorant of precession, it must have naturally taken it for granted that the Kṛttikās rose in the east, and therefore must have chosen for the two other alternatives bright stars which rose at the same point of the horizon as the Kṛttikās. The passage, therefore, gives us the valuable information that in the time of the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra Śroṇa rose at the same point of the horizon as the Kṛttikās, enabling us to infer the date B. C. 1330 for the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra.¹⁴ The third alternative also fits in with this date. As the Sūtra literature is more recent than the Brāhmaṇas,¹⁵ B. C. 1330 for the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra is quite in harmony with B. C. 2500 deduced above for the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.

We see, therefore, that the alternative orientation rules in the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra do not prove the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa to be untrustworthy. Neither does the statement about the number of the stars in the different Nakṣatras prove it in any way to be less trustworthy, because the main statement, that the Kṛttikās contain more stars than any other Nakṣatra is certainly true; and even about the maximum number of stars in the other Nakṣatras we have no right to assert that the Śatapatha is wrong. We do not know in fact how many stars the constellation Hasta was supposed to contain in those days; the corresponding Chinese Sieu contained only four stars.¹⁶ Any way, to damn the astronomical evidence of the Śata-

¹⁴ A paper on this subject by me would soon appear in the J. R. A. S.

¹⁵ Macdonell, *A History of Sanskrit Literature* (1900), 35.

¹⁶ Whitney, *Oriental and Linguistic Studies*, ii, 353

patha as untrustworthy on the basis of a name or the mention in the Vedas of five bulls¹⁷ (which may have absolutely no astronomical significance after all) seems entirely unjust.

It must be remembered that Barth himself holds that the statement in the Śatapatha must be based on a real observation made when the Kṛttikās rose approximately in the east.¹⁸

Winternitz¹⁹ takes the passage in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa to mean that the Kṛttikās "remain visible in the eastern region for a considerable time—during several hours—every night, which was the case about B. C. 1100," and holds that this interpretation of the passage is proved to be the correct one by the corresponding passage from the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra.

But this interpretation is certainly not the correct one, because then any star whatsoever which is north of the equator would do. Why should the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa have mentioned that the other Nakṣatras move away from the eastern quarter, and why should the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra have taken pains to mention a point between Citrā and Svātī? Svātī by itself would have been enough. Dozens of other stars would have been equally suitable. Again, the inference of Winternitz "which was the case about 1100 B. C." is positively misleading. Absolutely no date can be inferred from the statement. For his interpretation any date between B. C. 2000 and A. D. 11,000 would do!

Finally, stress has been laid,²⁰ though not exactly in connection with orientation, on the fact that the Hindu astronomers of the Vedic period cannot be deemed to have been very accurate observers, since they made no precise determination of the number of days in the year, which even in the Jyotiṣa they do not determine more precisely than as 366 days, and even the Sūrya Siddhānta does not know the precession of the equinoxes. But even if these allegations be true,²¹ it does not follow that the much simpler

¹⁷ See Griffith, *The Hymns of the Rigveda*, i, 179; Grassmann, *Rigveda-übersetzung*, ii, 106.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 38.

¹⁹ *A History of Indian Literature*, translated by Mrs. Ketkar, i, 298. The interpretation of Winternitz has also been criticised by Sen-Gupta, *I. H. Q.*, x(1934), 539.

²⁰ Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, i, 423-24.

²¹ See Bārhaspatyah (Chōṭe Lāl), *Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga* (1907), 19, where he

process of determining the east could not be carried out with a fair degree of accuracy. If a person always observes from a fixed point²² (as probably the ancients did to conform with the worship rituals) and the horizon is at a distance of more than a mile, as it generally is in India, the direction of the sun or a bright star at the moment of rising can be noted to at least within half a degree without any instruments.²³ Now there is no doubt that the point of the horizon where the sun rose was observed, for there is an accurate description of the motion of this point in the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa,²⁴ how it moves towards the south, seems to stop there for a few days and then moves towards the north. If the extreme northern and southern points of the horizon where the sun rose were observed and the middle point was found by practical geometry,²⁵ or by counting the number of days, or even by estimation, the east must have been determined to within a few degrees.²⁶

We see, therefore, that there is no valid reason for looking upon the passage in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa with distrust and we may rely on the date B. C. 2500 as approximately correct for Brahmanical literature.

2. The lists of the Nakṣatras given in the Yajurveda Saṃhitās²⁷ and the Brāhmaṇas²⁸ all begin with the Kṛttikās. Naturally, there must have been some reason for it. This becomes

convincingly demonstrates that the year of 366 days was deliberately chosen for a special purpose. Also the Sūrya Siddhānta knew precession (iii, 9) in a form which was sufficient for its own days, but, being ignorant of the law of gravitation, it could not predict what would happen in the distant future.

²² A change of 30 feet would not matter. It would produce a difference of less than one-third of a degree if the horizon is at a distance of one mile, and correspondingly less if the horizon is more distant.

²³ The diameter of the moon is about half a degree.

²⁴ xix, 2, 3.

²⁵ The priests had a good knowledge of elementary practical geometry in the time of the Sulva Sūtras. See Thibaut, *The Pandit*, Old Series, ix and x, (1874-5), or Datta, *Science of the Sulva*, Calcutta, 1932. As this knowledge could not have suddenly sprung up, it is very probable that some of the methods were discovered earlier.

²⁶ An error of one degree in the determination of the east would produce an error of about 175 years in the deduced date, the place of observation being supposed to be in latitude 24° degrees.

²⁷ Taittirīya Saṃhitā, iv, 4, 10, 1-3; Maitrāyaṇi Saṃhitā, ii, 13, 20; Kāthaka Saṃhitā, xxxix, 13.

²⁸ Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, i, 5, 1; also iii, 1, 4, 1 et seq. See also Atharvaveda, xix, 7, 1 et seq.

all the more evident when we consider that many things which in other countries were fixed arbitrarily were based on scientific principles in India. Thus, for example, the alphabet was so based.²⁹ Again the arrangement of the R̥gveda is in accordance with a system and not haphazard.³⁰ Then, the calendar was less arbitrary³¹ than even the present European calendar; the months were strictly regulated by the moon and the year by the sun. Now the later lists of the Nakṣatras begin with Aśvinī, and it is certain that the cause of this was the coincidence of the vernal equinox with the beginning of Aśvinī³² at the time the change was made (in the sixth century A. D.). The probability, therefore, is that originally the Kṛttikās were also chosen because the vernal equinox was then almost coincident with them. Weber³³ is of this very opinion.

If the vernal equinox coincided with the Kṛttikās, they would have risen exactly in the east. So this is in entire agreement with the passage in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa discussed above and gives the same date, viz., B. C. 2500 for the time when the list of the Nakṣatras was drawn up.³⁴

Some scholars³⁵ believe that the Kṛttikās were placed at the head of the Nakṣatras simply by accident, or because they were so conspicuous. They urge the following points against the assumption that the Kṛttikās were coincident with the vernal equinox:—

(i) The recognition of the coincidence of an equinoctial point and the Kṛttikās would involve³⁶ “the assumption that the sun and not the moon, was then regarded as connected with the Nakṣatras.” It is easy to see that no such assumption is involved. We have only to assume that the sun also, in addition to the moon, was connected with the Nakṣatras. Now there is evidence regarding the sun’s connection with the Nakṣatras. As pointed out by

²⁹ See Macdonell, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, 17.

³⁰ Macdonell, *A History of Sanskrit Literature* 41-45.

³¹ Whitney, *Oriental and Linguistic Studies*, ii, 345.

³² Cf. Colebrook *Essays*, ii, 246; Weber, *Indische Studien*, x, 234.

³³ *Nakṣatra*, ii, 362-364; *Indische Studien*, x, 235; *Indian Literature*, 2, n.2, etc.

³⁴ See Weber, *loc cit.*; Bühler, I. A., xxiii, 245, n. 20; Tilak, *Orton*, 40 et seq.

³⁵ Thibaut, I. A., xxiv, 96; Oldenberg, *Z. D. M. G.*, xlviii, 631; xlix, 473; i, 451-52; *Göttingen Nachrichten*, 1909, 564; Keith, J. R. A. S., 1909, 1103; Barth in Caland’s *Ueber das rituelle Sūtra des Baudhāyana*, 37-39.

³⁶ Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, i, 421.

Jacobi,³⁷ the distinction of the two sets of Deva and Yama Nakṣatras in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa³⁸ supports this view.³⁹

Also, in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa⁴⁰ instructions are given for locating the position of the sun amongst the stars by observation, which naturally involves the connection of the sun with the Nakṣatras.

(ii) Thibaut⁴¹ points out that in Vedic literature the equinoxes are never mentioned, and Tilak's argument that *viṣuvat* means the equinox has no authority behind it; the importance attached to the equinoxes in later times was due to Greek influence; longitudes were measured in the Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga (twelfth century B. C., see below) from a solstice and not from an equinox, and the inference that because the later list of the Nakṣatras begins from an equinox, the old one did likewise is without any solid foundation.

It is difficult to say what weight should be attached to these negative arguments, but it must be borne in mind that Jacobi and Tilak have given arguments (see below) to prove that the list of the Nakṣatras starting from the Kṛttikās is a revised list, and the Kṛttikās were deliberately placed at the head on account of their coincidence with an equinox, and Bühler⁴² believes that "they [Jacobi and Tilak] have made good their main proposition, viz., that the Kṛttikā-series is not the oldest arrangement of the Nakṣatras known to the Hindus, but that the latter once had an older one, which placed Mṛgśiras at the vernal equinox."

(iii) Whitney⁴³ and Thibaut⁴⁴ both maintain that even if the Kṛttikās were chosen to head the list of the Nakṣatras because of their connection with the vernal equinox, it might be that they were not coincident with the equinox, but were not far from it. The Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga states the winter solstice to occur when the sun was in the first point of Śraviṣṭhā. So at that time the Kṛttikās were about 18 degrees away from the vernal equinox.

³⁷ Z. D. M. G., I. 72.

³⁸ I. 5, 2, 8.

³⁹ For another view see Oldenberg, Z. D. M. G., xxlviii 631.

⁴⁰ I. 5, 2, 1. Quoted by Tilak, *Orion*, 18.

⁴¹ I. A., xxiv, 96.

⁴² I. A., xxiii, 239.

⁴³ *Oriental and Linguistic Studies*, ii, 383.

⁴⁴ I. A., xxiv, 97.

Whitney and Thibaut consider this to be near enough for the purpose, and therefore would not regard the list of Nakṣatras as necessarily older than the epoch of the Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga. As the sequel would show, the epoch of the Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga is somewhere near the 12th century B. C., which date Whitney and Thibaut regard as uncertain by about a thousand years (see below). It has been argued, therefore, that the Brāhmaṇas might not be older than B. C. 800-600.⁴⁵

The argument really comes to this that there is just a chance that even if the Kṛttikās were connected with the equinox, all the errors might have combined in such a way that what normally would indicate a date of B. C. 2500 might have been after all only a date of B. C. 700 or so. Although such a combination of all the unfavourable circumstances on one side is extremely improbable, it cannot be said to be impossible when considered by itself. But we must remember that in B. C. 700 the Kṛttikās rose 11 degrees away from the east point, and in this state of affairs the idea of orienting fire altars by the Kṛttikās could hardly have arisen.

3. The date deduced from the mention of the Kṛttikās rising in the east and their heading the list of the Nakṣatras is confirmed by quite independent testimony in another way. In the marriage ritual⁴⁶ there is mention of the practice of pointing out to the bride the pole-star as a symbol of constancy. As this is enjoined in all the principal Gṛhya Sūtras, it was obviously a usage prevailing all over India and therefore not one of recent origin.⁴⁷ The word used for the star is "dhruva" which means "the immovable." This leaves little doubt that it must have referred to a pole-star. Now another consequence of the precession of the equinoxes referred to before is that a pole-star does not exist in every age. The custom, therefore, gives us a means of determining roughly the date when the practice originated. In order to appreciate fully the points involved in the problem, it must be remembered that the mathematical point known as the north pole of the heavens

⁴⁵ Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, 424.

⁴⁶ Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra, i, 8, 19; Āpastamba G. S., ii, 6, 12; Hiraṇya Keśi G. S., i, 22, 14; Mānava G. S., i, 14, 9; Baudhāyana G. S., i, 1, 13; Gobhila G. S., ii, 3, 8.

⁴⁷ Jacobi, J. R. A. S., 1910, 461.

moves in a circle amongst the stars, and whenever it is near enough to a fairly bright star, we call that star the pole star. Now it so happens that the third magnitude⁴⁸ star Alpha Draconis was nearest the mathematical pole about the year B. C. 2780.⁴⁹ For about 250 years on either side of this date it might be taken to have been sufficiently near to the pole to have been called the pole-star. From B. C. 2000 to A. D. 500 there was no star as bright as even the fifth magnitude near enough to the mathematical pole to be called the pole-star.⁵⁰ In fact, the best conditions for the existence of a pole star in this period occurred⁵¹ about B. C. 1300, but then the nearest amongst all the stars of magnitude five or brighter was at a distance of about 5 degrees. This star must have been seen to move in the course of a night through a distance of about 10 degrees. This movement could not have escaped notice in a place like the Gangetic plain, where the pole is at a distance of only about 25 degrees from the horizon. It is clear, therefore, that if we exclude the very faintest stars, viz., those just visible to the eye, there is no alternative but to concur with Jacobi⁵² that the marriage custom referred to must have originated about B. C. 2780, when there was a real pole-star. It must be noticed that this is in conformity with the dates deduced from other considerations.

The opponents⁵³ of this view maintain that the custom, which is first mentioned only in the Grhya Sūtras, might not be really old, because the marriage ritual requirements would be satisfied by any star of some magnitude which was approximately polar. This does not appear to be reasonable, because a very faint star or a star not quite near the pole could never have attracted sufficient attention to have been picked out as a "dhruva" and pointed out as a symbol of constancy.

It may be mentioned that for several thousand years before B. C. 2780 there was no bright star near enough to the pole to be

⁴⁸ The brightest stars are called first magnitude stars, and the faintest, viz., those just visible to the naked eye, are called sixth magnitude stars.

⁴⁹ Jacobi, I. A., xxiii, 157.

⁵⁰ A reference to any good star atlas, with the path of the pole marked on it, will make this evident.

⁵¹ Jacobi, I. A., xxiii, 157.

⁵² I. A., xxiii, 157; J. R. A. S., 1910, 461.

⁵³ Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, i, 427.

recognised as a pole-star.⁵⁴

OTHER REFERENCES—There are several other references to astronomical phenomena which have been pressed into service for chronological purposes, but unfortunately all of them are more or less incomplete and each one of them has been interpreted in two different ways, one group of scholars consisting of Weber, Jacobi, Bühler, Barth, Winternitz, Poussin,⁵⁵ Tilak, Dikshit and others deriving dates from B. C. 2000 to B. C. 6000, whilst the other group of scholars, which includes Whitney, Oldenberg, Thibaut, Keith and others, see no great antiquity in the passages.

These are briefly as follows:—

(i) In the time of the Brāhmaṇas the month of Phālguna must have been regarded as the beginning of the year, because the full moon in Phālguna is called the “mouth” of the year in many places.⁵⁶ The difficulty in utilising this statement for chronological purposes lies in the fact that we do not know definitely with what season the year commenced. Jacobi⁵⁷ holds that one of the three alternative methods of beginning the year was to reckon it from the winter solstice, because this was undoubtedly the practice later⁵⁸ and the custom must have been an old one. The date derived on this basis is about B. C. 4000. Tilak⁵⁹ agrees with Jacobi in this; but Oldenberg⁶⁰ and Thibaut⁶¹ hold that Phālguna must have been regarded as “the mouth of the year” because it was the first month of the spring season⁶² when the year is divided into the three Cāturmāsya⁶³ seasons in accordance with one of the three alternative systems prevalent in ancient times, and that this is consistent with

⁵⁴ See, for example, F. R. Moulton, *An Introduction to Astronomy*, Map I.

⁵⁵ Louis de la Vallée Poussin, *Le Védisme*, Paris, 1909; quoted in J. R. A. S., 1909, 721.

⁵⁶ Taittirīya Samhitā, vii, 4, 8, 1-2; Pañcavimśa Brāhmaṇa, v, 9, 9; etc.

⁵⁷ I. A., xxiii, 156; Z. D. M. G., ii, 223; l, 72-81.

⁵⁸ The winter solstice was also the beginning of the lustrum and the first year of it in the calendar of the Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga. See Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga, Yajurveda recension, 5.

⁵⁹ Orion, 27.

⁶⁰ Z. D. M. G. xlviii, 630 et seq.; xlix, 475-76; l, 453-57.

⁶¹ I. A., xxiv, 86.

⁶² See Weber, *Nakṣatra*, ii, 329 et seq., and cf. Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, i, 6, 3, 36; Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa, v, 1. There are other notices to the like effect, see *Vedic Index*, i, 425, for full references.

⁶³ Taittirīya Samhitā, i, 6, 10, 3; Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, i, 4, 9, 5; ii, 2, 2, 2; etc.

the statement of the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa⁶⁴ that the winter solstice coincided with the new moon in Māgha, which is also found in the Jyotiṣa.⁶⁵ Although it is not certain to which particular date of the solar year the beginning of the spring season really corresponded, Thibaut takes it to be about February 7 on the strength of the seasons as they are found in Northern India. The date derived on this assumption would be about the twelfth century B. C.

Nor is this all. The passages in the Taittirīya Saṃhitā⁶⁶ and the Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa⁶⁷ where the date of consecration of the Gavām-ayana sacrifice is given, and Phālguna is called the mouth of the year, mention for the consecration two alternative dates—the Caitra full moon and a date four days before the full moon, without specifying which particular full moon is meant.

Tilak⁶⁸ and Jacobi⁶⁹ assume that the three possible dates of consecration represent the beginning of the year as acknowledged in three different times. In every case the year must have commenced with the winter solstice, and therefore Tilak and Jacobi both hold that the second alternative, namely the full moon in Caitra, was a relic of older times when the beginning of the year (winter solstice) coincided with the full moon in Caitra, about B. C. 6000. Tilak further holds, with the Mīmāṃsākāras,⁷⁰ that the last alternative mentioned, viz., four days before the full moon must refer to the full moon in Māgha. The coincidence of the winter solstice with the full moon in Māgha agrees with the vernal equinox coinciding with the Kṛttikāś and therefore gives a date about B. C. 2500.

But Thibaut holds that these alternative beginnings have no such meaning, and that they were simultaneously in vogue.⁷¹

It seems impossible to decide definitely from the available material what the truth is. When the dates derived are so very divergent, and there is reason on each side, the only safe conclusion seems to be that the material is not of any chronological use.

⁶⁴ xix, 2, 3.

⁶⁵ Yajurveda recension, 5-6.

⁶⁶ vii, 4, 8, 1.

⁶⁷ v, 9.

⁶⁸ *Orion*, chapter iv.

⁶⁹ I. A., xxiii, 156.

⁷⁰ Jaimini, vi, 5, 30-37, and others; see *Orion*, 52 et seq.

⁷¹ I. A., xxiv, 94.

(ii) Another acknowledged beginning of the year was the month of Mārgaśīrṣa, also called Āgrahāyana⁷² (belonging to the commencement of the year). But this also does not give us any definite information, because we do not know where the sun was with respect to the solstice (or equinox) in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa. Jacobi⁷³ and Tilak⁷⁴ hold that the sun must then have been in the autumnal equinox, because this is in conformity with the winter solstice occurring about the time of the Phālguna full moon (equivalent to about B. C. 4000, see above), whereas Thibaut⁷⁵ takes it to correspond with the beginning of the third of the Cāturmāsya seasons, when the year is divided into these four-monthly seasons in accordance with another of the three alternative methods. He also maintains that Jacobi's objection that there was no likelihood of the year ever having begun with the last season is not of much force.

(iii) Jacobi⁷⁶ points out that the study of the Vedas was directed to commence when the grass appeared, i.e., with the first month of the rainy season. Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra⁷⁷ fixes the full moon day in Śrāvaṇa, the first rainy month in North India in B. C. 2000, for the *upākaraṇa* ceremony. But in Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra⁷⁸ the same ceremony is fixed for the full moon in Prauṣṭhāpada (the early name of Bhādrapada), though at the same time the opening of the schools on the full moon day in Śrāvaṇa is well known. The former, therefore, must have been a tradition of the ancient times when Bhādrapada was really the first month of the rainy season, which was the case about B. C. 4000. Whitney⁷⁹ and others object to it, pointing out that there might have been no connection between rains and learning, but Bühler⁸⁰ agrees with Jacobi.

(iv) There is a passage in the Rgveda⁸¹ which, according to

⁷² Thibaut, I. A., xxiv, 94-95; Weber, ii, 332 et seq.

⁷³ I. A., xxiii, 156.

⁷⁴ *Orion*, 62 et seq.

⁷⁵ I. A., xxiv, 94-95.

⁷⁶ I. A., xxiii, 155.

⁷⁷ ii, 10.

⁷⁸ iii, 3.

⁷⁹ J. A. O. S., xvi, 84 et seq.

⁸⁰ I. A., xiii, 242 et seq.

⁸¹ vii, 103, 9.

Jacobi,⁸² shows that in Ṛgvedic times the year commenced with the rains, which begin in North India at the time of the summer solstice. This is confirmed to some extent by the fact that the year is called *varṣa* or *abda* (i.e., rain-giving). Also, Jacobi infers from another passage in the Ṛgveda⁸³ that the year commenced when the sun was in Phalgunī. These passages therefore confirm the arguments given above to show that in Vedic times the winter solstice occurred near the full moon in Phālguna, from which a date about B. C. 4000 was deduced. But Jacobi translates *dvādaśa* in the first passage as "the twelfth (month)," instead of "that which consists of twelve parts," i.e., "the year," as others⁸⁴ have done, and though Jacobi claims that this meaning is better for the reasons advanced by him on grammatical grounds, and also on account of the year being called *varṣa* and *abda*, not much reliance can be placed on the argument, as it hinges completely on the translation of one word in a way about which there is no unanimity.

(v) The Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa⁸⁵ states explicitly that the winter solstice occurred at the new moon in Māgha. This would have been very valuable from a chronological point of view, but for the fact that we do not know how the month was reckoned—whether it ended with a new moon (*amānta* system), or with a full moon (*pūrṇimānta* system). The commentators⁸⁶ believed that the month ended with the full moon and therefore the new moon of Māgha must be the new moon preceding the full moon in the Nakṣatra Maghā. But there is reason for supposing that the *amānta* system was more generally in vogue, because the bright half of the month was called the former half, and the dark half the latter.⁸⁷ With the *amānta* system the new moon of Māgha would mean the new moon after the full moon in Maghā, and the winter solstice at this time would imply a date about 1900 years earlier than the time of the Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga, i.e., a date about B. C.

⁸² I. A., xxiii, 154.

⁸³ x, 85, 13.

⁸⁴ Kaegi and Geldner, Grassmann, and others.

⁸⁵ xix, 3. This was first noticed by Weber, *Nakṣatra*, ii, 345 et seq.

⁸⁶ Vināyaka on the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa, loc. cit.; Ānartīya on Sāṅkhāyana Srauta Sūtra, xiii, 19, 1.

⁸⁷ See *Vedic Index*, ii, 158, where full references are given.

3100.⁸⁸ With the *pūrṇimānta* system, on the other hand, the new moon in Māgha would mean what ordinarily was called the new moon in Pauṣa (the previous month),⁸⁹ and the datum becomes the same as that of the Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga, the deduced date being about B. C. 1200. The *pūrṇimānta* system is held by some to be the more probable of the two, because of what the commentators say. Also, Thibaut points out that in the time of the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa the term *amāvāsyā* might not have been used in the strict sense of the *titibi* which ended with conjunction, in which sense it was used later. The months might have begun then with a new moon, and the new moon of Māgha might have been the new moon with which Māgha began, i.e., the new moon preceding the full moon in Maghā. But even if we accept this interpretation, we need not suppose that the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa and the Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga belong exactly to the same period. The statement of the Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga is quite definite. The solstice occurred when the sun was at the beginning of that twenty-seventh part of the ecliptic which was called Śraviṣṭhā. The statement in the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa, on the other hand, is such that it could not have been exactly true for more than one year. Because, if the winter solstice occurred exactly at the new moon of Māgha in any year, it could not occur at the new moon of Māgha in the succeeding years: it would occur next year about eleven days after this date, and about twenty-two days after the new moon of Māgha in the year after that. Then, on account of the intercalation of a month, the solstice would occur three days after the new moon in Māgha in the next year, then fourteen days after that, and so on. It follows that the statement is only roughly true, and in their desire to put the solstice on a new moon day (on account of its religious importance), the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa might have mentioned the new moon of Māgha, even though on an average the phenomenon happened some days later. Moreover, the date of the Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga has been held to be uncertain by about a thousand years,⁹⁰ so the date of the Kauṣītaki

⁸⁸ The Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa is, according to Keith (H. O. S. xxv, 47-48); almost contemporaneous with, or slightly older than, the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa. But the passage itself might be older than the rest of the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa.

⁸⁹ cf. Thibaut, I. A., xxiv, 89.

⁹⁰ Whitney, *Oriental and Linguistic Studies*, ii, 384; Thibaut, I. A., xxiv, 98, etc. A thousand years is undoubtedly an over-estimate.

Brāhmaṇa on the strength of the evidence under discussion might be regarded as uncertain by at least the same amount.⁹¹ Also we do not know the relative dates of the Śatapatha and the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇas for certain, and none of them was composed in its entirety at one time. So this record in the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa is in no way in conflict with the dates deduced above from records in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and other books.

(vi) The Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga gives the position of the winter solstice as coincident with the first point of Śraviṣṭhā.⁹² This is sufficient to calculate the date of the observations recorded in the Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga. There is a slight uncertainty as to exactly which point in the heavens was meant by the first point of Śraviṣṭhā; so various dates have been arrived at by various scholars—B. C. 1181 by Jones,⁹³ and also by Pratt,⁹⁴ B. C. 1391 by Davis⁹⁵ and Colebrooke,⁹⁶ and more or less similar dates by others. Choṭe Lāl⁹⁷ is certain that the date of the observations in the Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga is

⁹¹ The following calculation shows that the date of this passage of the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa might be only B. C. 2000, even if we assume that there is no uncertainty and the solstice occurred exactly at the new moon which followed the full moon of Taiṣa:—

The full moon of Taiṣa means the full moon which occurred (on an average) when the moon was near Tīṣya.

Assume that the longitude of Tīṣya was α . Then the sun at the moment under consideration had the longitude $\alpha + 180^\circ$.

In the period from the new moon to the next new moon the sun must have advanced by about $13\frac{1}{2}^\circ$, and, therefore, its longitude must have become $\alpha + 180^\circ + 13\frac{1}{2}^\circ$.

It was a solstice then. Hence it must have been then 90° behind the vernal equinox, i.e.,

$$\alpha + 270^\circ + 13\frac{1}{2}^\circ = 360^\circ,$$

$$\text{or } \alpha - 76\frac{1}{2}^\circ = 0.$$

Assume now that the longitude of the Kṛttikā was β . Then the vernal equinox must have been β behind the Kṛttikā, which is the same $\beta - (\alpha - 76\frac{1}{2}^\circ)$ behind the Kṛttikā. Now $\alpha - \beta$ does not depend on precession, and its value is $68\frac{3}{4}^\circ$ nearly. Substituting this value, we find that the equinox was about $7\frac{3}{4}^\circ$ behind the Kṛttikā. As $7\frac{3}{4}^\circ$ corresponds to about 566 years the indicated period is so many years after the date (B. C. 2500) when the vernal equinox was at the Kṛttikā, or roughly B. C. 2000.

The calculation is quite right, but as Tīṣya is not very bright, we cannot assert as certain that the full moon in Taiṣa meant the full moon nearest Tīṣya, on which the whole calculation depends.

⁹² Yajurveda recension, 7.

⁹³ Asiatic Researches, ii, 393.

⁹⁴ J. A. S. B., xxxi, 49.

⁹⁵ Asiatic Researches, ii, 268; v, 288.

⁹⁶ Essays, i, 109-10.

⁹⁷ Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga, Allahabad, 83.

the winter solstice of B.C. 1098, but he relies on certain highly controversial evidence regarding the position of the planet Jupiter at that time. We might not be able to find the exact date, but it is clear from these investigations that the twelfth century B. C. cannot be far from the epoch of the observations of the Jyotiṣa. As admittedly the Jyotiṣa is a later production than the Brāhmaṇas,⁹⁸ this confirms in a way the dates deduced above on other grounds.

* * * * *

To sum up, if we exclude the possibility of every astronomical notice in Vedic literature being a record of ancient tradition, which is extremely unlikely, we can say that there is strong astronomical evidence that the Vedas are older than B. C. 2500. They might be as old as B. C. 4000. There is some support for this date, but it is not convincing. However, there is no evidence against it.



⁹⁸ Thibaut, *Astronomie Astrologie und Mathematik*, 19-20.

LOCATION OF DANTAPURA

By PROFESSOR S. LEVI

[In connection with the location of *Dantapura* of Kalinga, well-known in the Buddhist literature, we are familiar with the identification with 'Palur' as proposed by Prof. Lévi.¹ The Professor showed me in Paris, last July, a passage in the work of the French scholar Anquetil Duperron² (*Zend Avesta*, i, Preliminary Discourse) that he travelled in Orissa and passed through 'Paloor.' The description of the journey is so complete that with its help we should easily locate and discover the ruins of Palur. A translation of the passage in question by Professor Lévi himself is published below. We shall be obliged if gentlemen in Orissa would give attention to the problem and let us have their result. The place must be near the Chilka lake and on the old route from Mälüd. The word *Choki* (*chauki*) means a staging place.—K. P. J.]

[Extract from Duperron]

"I left Jagrenat on the 7th (June 1757) and found, 3 cosses from that city, a Choki near the Chilka the water of which is brakish, and which falls into the sea. I travelled along this river to Manikpatan which lies 8 cosses from Jagrenat, without encountering in this last town, neither houses nor trees. Two cosses before Manikpatan is a pond of soft water. This town has a Fauzdar who resides at Malood. I spent the night in the Dargah of Saied Sarabdurraman Madina.

"On the 8th I crossed the Chilka in a place where it was very wide. Half of the river was fordable; I spent the rest in an embarcation consisting of two balloons joined together, as on the river of Balasor. On the other side of the river is found a cistern

¹ J. A., Janvier—Mars 1925, pp. 46-57: Paloura—Dantapura.

² *Zend-Avesta*, ouvrage de Zoroastre, contenant les Idées Théologiques, Physiques et Morales de ce Législateur. . . . Traduit en François sur l'Original Zend.' Par M. Anquetil Du Perron, 3 vols. in 4°, Paris, 1771.

of stone. The ground up to Malood is all of sand; only two wells are found, one three cosses, the other six cosses from Manikpatan, and shrubs, the grains of which, inclosed in a pistil decorated with white leaves, spreads a very sweet perfume. I went down the Chilka, the bed of which was full of buffaloes leaving the hills on the left. One cosse after Malood, I met a Choki and arrived in that city around 4 o'clock. The Fauzdar came out of his fort to welcome me.

"I departed from Malood on the 9th. Beyond that town, the ground is always sandy; the way lies along the hills which are above one-half cosse. At three cosses one finds a Choki which marks the boundary of the *Katch* Province and of the dependencies of Bengal. After that, one passes a pond of salt water and several pits full of common water. One cosse from this Choki is Paloor, the first "Aldée" depending of Ganjam, with a Choki, and a pond of soft water. The way is afterwards very bad, amidst hills of sand. Several of my sepoys, feeling their native country near, abandoned me in that place. Two cosses from Paloor, I met a small Pagoda, standing alone amid the sands, that from afar resembled a pine-apple. The sailors see it from the high and call it the White Pagoda. I saw, in the lower room of Pagoda a stone 3 or 4 feet wide, within it a Thakur resembling that of the Pagoda of Tirvikarey. I engraved my name on the wall of the Pagoda which looks to the West. One cosse from there, I passed a large Cari, and some steps further, I almost got drowned in mud. While springing over a small ditch, my horse stumbled, and sank into mud. I had mud up to the thighs; the hardship was afterwards to get my horse off. Then the sun that was very hot soon dried me. I found, after that, land sown with paddies and grain, and large ponds of salt which is prepared in this way. They shape heaps of salt ground drawn from the Caris and put them in pits. The salt settles and when rain has penetrated the heaps of earth and filled the hollows, the salt detached by water appears on the surface where it is gathered with rakes.

"One cosse from the preceding Cari is Ganjam, first city depending on the Subah of Dakan. There begins the Telugu (or Talenga) language."

SOME OLD ACCOUNTS OF BHAGALPUR

By PROF. K. K. BASU, M.A., BHAGALPUR

The present work incorporates selection of reports some of which either lie buried in the archives of the District Officer of Bhagalpur or are scattered over the rapidly decaying blue-books and journals that are quite beyond the reach of the general public. It is to be admitted that the writer lays no claim to originality; he merely attempts to put together in a readable form and under one cover a mass of information that may help the picturing of a state of affairs that has long passed away. These documents bear witness to the enterprise and enthusiasm of the pioneer surveyors who revealed to us by their labours the old history of the country—a service on whose effects time can never efface the writing.

The first record in these selections is the journal kept by Capt. W. S. Sherwill, who made a geographical and statistical survey of the Bhagalpur district, south of the Ganges between the years 1846 and 1850. The second document is the report of J. J. Pemberton, who was engaged in the survey work of the district north of the Ganges during the years when Sherwill was occupied with his work.

With a scrupulous attention to accuracy in detail, the aforesaid officers made a close investigation and a deep study of the places within their field of operation and embodied these observations in a self-contained monograph entitled, "The Geographical and Statistical report of the district of Bhaugulpoor," printed at the Bengal Secretariat Press in 1869. The publication, in question, is now out of print and scarcely available. Sherwill's report also appeared in the *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1851, and his "General remarks on the revenue survey of the Bhaugulpoor district" in the same journal for 1862.

The journals of Sherwill and Pemberton, are next in importance to Francis Buchanan's, whose statistical survey of Bhagalpur (1810-1811) is a reflex of the actual state of affairs then existing, throw-

ing as much light as possible on the archaeological, historical, ethnological and geological interest of the places he visited. Thanks to the patient research of the delightful writer and ex-civilian Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, Buchanon's work has been published by the authorities of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society and thus placed within the reach of the public.

Capt. Sherwill and Pemberton's journals, it may be remarked, are a mine of useful information relating to geological, botanical and mineralogical details, population, castes, professions, number of towns and villages, live-stock, and manufactures of the district. Instead of making a fresh copy of the full text and saving much time and trouble thereby, we have, in our work made important selections of the journal and our volume contains the essence of the information contained in Sherwill and Pemberton's reports.

The third document contained in the present work is the report made by G. Loch, the Collector of Bhagalpur on February 24, 1852. Loch's report embraces the northern portion of the district (Perganas Chye, Nursingpoor Koorah and Mulnee Gopal), and his object of visiting the country was to commence, and if possible to complete the butwarrah of Talooka Seah and two other mahals. But his later transfer to Moorshedabad compelled him to return to the station without completing the duty.

After Loch, the next report that has here been embodied is that of the District Officer E. F. Lantour, dated May 10, 1855. Lantour visited the interior of the district and was absent from the sudder station for six weeks, the number of miles traversed by him exceeded 256, yet such was the extent of the district that he only visited about a quarter of it, and his tour did not extend to the Damin-i-Koh and the other eastern parganas, including Umbar and Sultanabad and neither did he cross the Ganges to visit the northern parganas (Chye, Nursingpoor Koorah). It was his intention to have proceeded through the Damin-i-Koh to Rajmahal, but he was obliged to return to the station to relieve an officer (Chapman) whose services had been placed at the disposal of the Railway Commissioner.

The fifth and the last report is that of George Dickinson, the Collector of Bhagalpur, dated August 31, 1794. It contains the

observations on the state of the roads in the Bhagalpur district viz., from the sudder station to Soory and from the former westward to the banks of the River Kiul—a distance of one hundred and seventy-four miles from one extremity to the other. Chronologically, the report of Dickinson should have topped the list of the reports contained in this work, but this priority of position the report has lost on account of the subject-matter. Dealing only with the roads and not the general condition of the district, it comes next to those that deals with subjects ethnical, mineralogical, topographical and the like.

Something now need be said about the formation of the district. Since its inception, the district of Bhagalpur has undergone various changes. After the grant of the Diwani, the district was very big in size, situated to the east of Sarkar Monghyr, Subeh Bihar, and comprehending a large tract to the south of the Ganges. Towards the beginning of the 19th century, at the time when Buchanon visited it, the district comprised an area of 8255 square miles. Most of the present districts of Monghyr and the Sontal parganas were then included in Bhagalpur, of course, with the reservations mentioned below. The Supaul and the northern part of Madhipura sub-division now under Bhagalpur district were then included in the Tirhoot and Purnea districts. The parganas Balia, Bhusari, Naipur, Imadpur and Mulki forming the present Begusarai sub-division of Monghyr were then under Tirhoot: parganas Bisthazari, Amarthu and Maldah included later in the Jamni sub-division of Monghyr and pargana Selimabad in the Sadar sub-division of the same district were under the district of Bihar: pargana Sarath-Deoghur under the Deoghur sub-division of the modern Sontal Parganas and Kundabit Karaya and Pabbia, comprising the Jamtara sub-division of the Sontal parganas were then in Birbhum.

In 1832, a re-shuffling took place when there was established a Deputy Collectorship for Monghyr, under the jurisdiction of the Magistrate of Bhagalpur.

Some six years later, some additions to the district of Bhagalpur were effected, when the three parganas north of the Ganges viz., Naredigar, Mulnee Gopal and Nursingpoor Koorah were taken out of Tirhoot and added to Bhagalpur.

In 1855, the addition of areas so far made to Bhagalpur was counterbalanced by the falling off of an area on the east called the Sontal Parganas under the provisions of the Act XXXVII of 1855 amended by Act X of 1857. Thus the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the parganas viz., Teliagurhi, Jamuni, Chitauliya, Kankjol, Bahadurpur, Akbarnagar, Inayatnagar, Mukrain, Sultangunj, Umbar, Sultanabad, Godda, Umlu Motiya, Passay, Hendweh, Muniari and Belputta were transferred to the Sontal Parganas.

In 1864 the jurisdiction of Bhagalpur had an extension with the additions made to it on the north of the Ganges and the areas so taken formerly belonged to Monghyr and Purnea.

In 1874, pargana Kharakpur was transferred from Bhagalpur to Monghyr.

The district when surveyed by Sherwill comprised 7,801.04 square miles as against 4226 square miles of our times; its length, then, was 168 miles, and an average width south of the Ganges 112 miles and north of the Ganges 20, as against 140 miles in length and from 14 to 45 miles in breadth as at present.

Rennell's *Map of the South-east part of Babar* drawn in 1773 portrays the district of Bhagalpur and is the earliest of its kind so far known. Next comes, the map drawn by Francis Buchanan in 1811, reproduced on enlarged scale and published in the Journal of Buchanan by the Journal Bihar and Orissa Research Society. W. S. Sherwill's map of district "Bhaugulpoor" on 4 miles=1 inch scale and published in 1852 and his map of the *Rajmahal Hills* or *Damin-i-Koh* on a scale of 2 miles=1 inch and published in 1855 are the third of the series and preserved in the Collectorate Record Room, Bhagalpur. The survey of Bhagalpur done under the Superintendence of Major J. Macdonald, officiating Deputy Surveyor General, assisted by Cap. W. J. Stewart, Deputy Superintendent of Survey and M. David, Assistant Surveyor was shown in a map drawn on a scale of 6 inches to a mile which was published under the direction of Lt.-Col. J. C. Gore, Surveyor General of India in 1902. This map deals with the civil station (Bhagalpur) city and environments in the years 1866-67 and 1869 and 1870. There is another map of the Bhagalpur town and its suburbs drawn in 1824, 1st Nov., by one Gopinath with the places and sites indicated in Persian script.

These maps are a wonderfully revealing study with regard to changes in the configuration of the alluvial areas caused by the constant shifting of the River Ganges to the north of Bhagalpur. In 1810 Buchanon noticed "the Jamuni," a branch of the Ganges, just to the north of the city, the main stream flowing further to the north. In 1824, the two streams united together on the north of the city. In the second half of the nineteenth century the main stream receded further north as in 1810, leaving "the Jamuni" to continue its own course just by the city, and in between these two streams were low *Dearab* lands under cultivation.

A word about the spelling of "Bhagalpur" will not be out of place here and may even be interesting reading for some. The old records of the 18th century used the form "Boglipore," and those of the 19th Century "Bhaugulpoor" and "Bhaugulpore." The word "pargana" again has also been variously spelt in the records, as "pergunnah" and "perghunna." But we have in our introduction adopted the system of spelling as accepted by Hunter and Mr. Oldham.

The value of these documents is but too apparent to require elucidation. The old record scattered over the dusty and worm-eaten bound volumes kept in the archives of the District offices provide ample materials for the local and parochial history, which if properly compiled and collected would help the historian in his task of writing a provincial history. To bring them to light and preserve them from the greedy and devouring jaws of oblivion is the primary object of this work.

In conclusion it may be remarked that the prefatory note has got no official character attached to it.

CAPT. SHERWILL'S REPORT

The district of Bhaugulpoor, comprising 7,801·04 square miles of territory, is situated in the fertile valley of the Ganges, which river divides the district into two unequal portions, the larger portion lying to the south of the river.

.....The length of the district is 168 miles....; the average width south of the Ganges is 112 miles and north of the Ganges it has an average of 20 miles.

South of the Ganges; area, 6,102·07¹ square miles. Thirty-three

Divisions. Pergunnahs—Akbernugger, Bhaugulpoor, Buhadoorpore, Cheetowleeah, Chundun Kuttooreea, Chundweh, Colgong, Danra Sukwara, Dhurarah, Godda, Hendweh, Huzzar Tukkee, Inayutnuggur, Jumoonnee, Jehangeerah, Kurrukpoor, Kherhee, Kankjole, Likhunpoor, Mukraeen, Musdee, Purbutpara, Pussaye, Suhroee, Singhol Sukhurabadee, Sooltangunj, Sooltanabad, Suteearee, Teleeagurhee, Umloo Mooteea, Umber, and Waseela. Four Tuppehs.—Belputta, Muneeharee, Lodhweh, and Simroun.

One Division.—Known as the Damin-i-Koh, or the Rajmahal Hills.

North of the Ganges—area 1,698·97 square miles.²

Four Pergunnahs.—Chye, Mulhnee Gopal, Nareedeegur, Nursingpoor Kooruh.

Under the Mahomedan kings, the district of Bhaugulpoor formed the most eastern portion of the Soubah of Behar...in

	Sq. Miles
¹ Original area south of the River Ganges	6,102·07
Deduct { Sonthal Pergunnahs 3,634·90	
{ Pergh., transferred to Monghyr.. 615·68 }	4,250·58
	<hr/>
Add. Area of portion transferred from Purneah	1,851·49
	47·49
	<hr/>
Area of District Bhaugulpoor south of River Ganges ..	1,898·98
² Original area north of the Ganges	1,698·97
Add transfers from Monghyr and Purneah	700·97
	<hr/>
Area of District Bhaugulpoor north of River Ganges ..	2,399·94
Total area of District Bhaugulpoor north and south of River Ganges	4,298·92

Bhaugulpoor the (official) accounts (fiscal and judicial) are kept in the Hindoostani or Ordo.

The climate of Bhaugulpoor is peculiar to itself; situated between the parching hot winds of Western and Central India, and the damp soil of Bengal, it appears influenced by both. . . . The heats of summer, or from April to June, are . . . very great,—too great to allow the natives themselves to be freely exposed to the direct rays of the Sun; to the European, such exposure would most likely be fatal in a few hours. During the hot weather, the thermometer ranges from 80° to 100° during the day; a steady west wind generally sets in at 9 a.m., and continues to blow till sunset; this wind is warm approaching to hot.

The weather from June to September, or what is styled the rainy season, is much more pleasant to the feelings, from the immense quantity of moisture suspended in the air; during the rainy season, an east wind generally prevails.

During the cold weather, or from October to March, the weather is peculiarly fine and well suited to the European constitution; a steady light westerly or easterly wind blows; the air is cool, and the thermometer in December descends as low as 33° during the night.

The climate of Bhaugulpoor is peculiarly suited to the growth of rice, which forms the staple agricultural produce of the district.

The aspect of the district is pleasing, from the great abundance of mango plantations and palm-trees that are scattered over the whole surface of the country, and from the numerous detached hills, and connected ranges of hills, that break the monotony of an otherwise level country. This range extends from the Ganges River on the North to the Brahminee River on the South.

From near the south-western extremity of the Rajmahal Hills, a tract of elevated land sweeps across the whole district; it unites with the Kurrukpoor Hills, which terminate in the bed of the Ganges at Monghyr, and which range of hills separate Monghyr from Bhaugulpoor.

The mass of low level country thus shut in by the Kurrukpoor

Hills on the west, by the Rajmahal Hills on the east, the Ganges river to the north, and by the great curve of high land to the south, consists of a mass of rich, cultivated, and highly productive land, the most densely populated, best cultivated, is level, well watered and free from rocks or unproductive ground. This high land is nevertheless not without its uses and benefits to the district; it serves as the grazing ground for cattle during the hot weather; it produces an abundance of wood for ploughs, for building purposes and for fire-wood; it produces bamboos, grass, barks, gums, tusser silk, slates, building stone, honey, copper, lead, antimony, silver, iron and coal; besides numerous sorts of grain. The Mahooa petel (*bassia latifolia*) is largely collected and used in the distilleries; catechu is also manufactured from the *Mimosa catechu*, and is exported to Europe.

The principal river in the district is the Ganges, flowing for 120 miles directly through the district from west to east, throwing about one quarter of the whole district, or 1,698.97 square miles, contained in four pergunnahs, on the northern or left bank; this tract has been surveyed by the establishment under Mr. Pemberton, Revenue Surveyor.

The other rivers of note are the Kosey and Ghugree, whose united waters flow into the Ganges on the left or northern bank, eight miles north of Colgong.

North of the Ganges there are numerous nullahs, the principal of which are the Talabah, Tiljooga, Balee, and Lorum, all flowing into the Ganges.

To the south of the Ganges numerous small streams descend from the highland to the south, and flow in a northerly direction into the Ganges; the largest and most important of which is the Chandun.

Irrigation is resorted to, either from streams, or tanks, or from wells. The level land situated to the north of the southern hills and south of the Ganges, is universally irrigated, producing fine crops of rice, mustard, castor oil, murrooa, kesari, sugarcane, gram, besides many of the small crops.

The principal towns in the district are the civil station of
 Bhaugulpoor, the "Barari" Great Trigo-
 nometrical station, Rajmahal, Colgong
 Towns.
 and Kurrukpoor.

Good substantial villages are thickly spread over the country;
 though pukka buildings, except in the
 Villages.
 towns above mentioned, are almost un-
 known, the huts of the zemindars and ryots being either made with
 mud-walls and thatched roofs, or are constructed entirely of wattles,
 mats, and thatch.

The general caste of the inhabitants are Hindoos, with a small
 population of Mahomedans, but these
 Caste.
 latter are mostly found in the large
 towns, and seldom in the villages.

In the pergunnahs lying to the east of Rajmahal Hills, Bengalis
 are found occupying the land. The Rajmahal Hills are occupied
 by the hill men and by Sonthals; the highland south of the great
 plain is also occupied by Sonthals, Bonyas, Ghatwals, iron smelters,
 and by several other classes professing little, if any, respect for
 caste.

With regard to population, the district of Bhaugulpoor, when
 compared with other and neighbouring
 Population.
 districts, shows but a very scanty popu-
 lation. This is accounted for by the large extent of unproductive,
 and consequently unoccupied, land to the south, which tract nearly
 equals in extent the cultivated and occupied land.

The roads in the low lands, are merely nominal, being either
 washed away yearly, ploughed up, or so
 Roads.
 neglected, as to be for nine months in
 the year impassable for wheeled carriages.

The roads on the highlands, being upon good hard soil are good
 all the year round, although very tortuous, as they wind to avoid
 every ravine, rock or hillock or patch of broken ground.

The principal draught cattle in the district are buffaloes, and
 the common grey bullock; horses, mules,
 Cattle.
 and asses are almost unknown; cows,
 pigs, poultry, and pigeons are common.

The wild animals of the district are tigers, leopards, panthers, and all the smaller felinæ; rhinoceros, elephants, bears, badgers, rusa stags, hog-deer, wild hog, barking deer, antelope, jungle fowl; of partridge there are the black, painted, grey, and double spurred; two sorts of quail, ontolan, boa constrictor, most of the deadly ophidia, water-snakes, turtle, a great variety of fish, two sorts of alligators, porpoises; besides numerous birds, reptiles, and smaller mammalia.

KURRUKPOOR³. This pergunnah is divided into two portions, the northern or hilly tract, the property of Roodur Buhaidoor Singh, the Maharaja of Dhurbanga, and the southern, or partially cultivated portion, also including a portion of the Kurrukpoor Hills, as well as a large portion of the plains at the foot of the hills and the capital town of the same name.

Wild Animals.
Its two divisions.

Northern.

The northern portion is a mass of hill and jungle, with a small belt of land below the hills on the northern face, containing two small hamlets of wood-cutters and gowallahs.

In the hills are seven small hamlets, containing about 250 hill men and their families who cultivate a moderate quantity of land, which produces junera, indian corn, capsicums, and beans: they are principally herdsmen, wood-cutters, or iron-smelters. The jungles afford excellent pasturage for cattle and produce good timber; the soil is rich in iron-ores: the iron is taken to Monghyr.

Of the Southern portion, only one-fifth of the whole area is under cultivation; the remainder is occupied by hills and dense jungle. The rivulet Mun flowing from the hills flows past the town of Kurrukpoor. The town is a fine substantial looking place. This part of the pergunnah was surveyed in 1839-40 by Lieut. Ellis.

Southern

DHURARAH⁴. This is a small pergunnah of ten and a half square miles lying at the foot of the northern face of the Kurrukpoor Hills.

³ Kharagpur Transferred to District Monghyr. Buchanon's Journal, p. 162 f.n.

⁴ Transferred to District Monghyr.

The principal villages are Dhurarah and Mohunpoor, two substantial villages.

PURBUTPARA⁵. This large pergunnah, with an area of 195¾ square miles, has but a small portion of its area fitted for the jungle; being the summit of a series of rocks and being scantily covered with soil, and the rocks protruding in every direction.

The spots that are cleared around the villages, amounting in all to forty-five square miles, produce
Produce. rice, junera, indian corn, poppy, murrooa, muhooa petals, and mango-trees; The pergh. produces tusser, silk, catechu, timber, bamboos, grass, and a variety of dates and barks.

This pergunnah produces an abundance of iron which is
Iron. smelted by a race called Korah and Nyah.

The cultivators are principally natives of the hilly tracts, who profess to be Hindoos: they are named
Cultivators. Sonthals, Bhoonyahs, and Ghatwals,—a quiet, ignorant, and hardy race of people.

A tortuous and stony road through the forest traverses the northern portion of the pergunnah, leading from the Ganges through Kurrukpoor to Mulehpoor, where there is a thannah on the banks of the Nuktee nullah: from Mulehpoor the road turns off to the south to Pergunnahs Ghidhour and Chukye.
Road.

The Nuktee nullah, a mountain torrent, forms the boundary to the south of the pergunnah, between zillahs Monghyr and Bhaugulpoor, and falls into the Keeul River.
Nuktee Nullah.

Four miles from the western boundary, the Nuktee receives the Augun nullah, also called the Rakus Jor, which has its rise from a hot spring in the Kurrukpoor Hills.
Augun Nullah.

About a mile to the north of Pandoo village, a small hill yields corundum.

To the north of the northern portion of Pergunnah Kurrukpoor are two small tuppehs belonging to Purbutpara, named Sim-

⁵ Transferred to District Monghyr.

roun and Lodhweh.

SINGHOL. This pergunnah, with an area of nearly thirty square miles, has about twenty-five of the same occupied by a portion of the Kurrukpoore Hills and jungle.

The hills produce iron of a good quality.

*Singhee Rikh*⁶. In a secluded nook in the northern face of the hills is a temple built near a pool of water: the temple is called Singhee Rikh.

SUHROEE⁷. In the south-eastern corner of the pergunnah is Koojee Ghat, a hill defile. The road winds for upwards of twelve miles through a series of high hills, and occasionally in the bed of a mountainous torrent. The jungles are much infested with tigers and other dangerous wild animals.

A road traverses this pergunnah from north to south from Bhaugulpoore by the Koojee Ghat to Byjnath or Deoghur. Many good village roads traverse the pergunnah in several directions.

The Bunorooah nullah divides the pergunnah into two unequal portions.

The principal villages in the pergunnah are Budhowneea, Chora, Tarrapoor, where there is a thannah, Doorgapoor, Lawna, Budhwara.

WASEELA. A little more than one-third of this pergunnah, or fifty-one square miles, is occupied by hill and jungle in a state of nature; the remainder is well-cultivated and cleared.

The southern half of this pergunnah is inhabited by Sonthals, Korahs and other castes.

The Bilhur and Bunrooah nullahs flow through the pergunnah from south to north.

Bilhur and Doomreea are the chief villages of the pergunnah.

Iron is smelted in the jungles by the Korahs, and tusser silk is collected by the zemindars from the asun trees, and exported to Bhaugulpoore.

CHANDUN KUTOOREEA⁸. This ill-shaped pergunnah,

⁶ Springirikh. Buchanon's Journal, p. 208. f.n.

⁷ Portion of Pergunnah Suhrohee has been transferred to Monghyr.

⁸ Chāndan Katuriyā; 182·34 sq. miles: it is one of the seventeen parganās included in the Mahālat of Kharakpur estate.

extending thirty-two miles from north to south, is a mass of hill and

Physical aspect.

Physical aspect. jungle, high rocky ground, ravines, gravel, and unproductiveness; cultivation is seen only in spots around the Sonthals' huts and around the small villages scattered over the face of the pergunnah. The Chandun River rises in the south-western corner of the pergunnah. All along

Iron.

Iron. the banks of this river, iron of a good quality is smelted: the iron is exported together with tusser silk, catechu, bamboos, grass, barks, and dyes, productions of these jungles, to Bhaugulpoor.

Veins of copper containing lead and silver are to be seen near

Copper.

the southern boundary of the pergunnah,
in the village of Bhyrookhee.

The principal races inhabiting the jungles are Ghatwals, Sonthals, Bhoonyahs, Korahs, and Nyahs.

The jungles are well supplied with game, such as tigers, leopards, bears, spotted deer, neelghy, pigs, Wild animals. jungle fowls, peacocks, hare and partridge.

A small quantity of poppy is cultivated in the northern portion

Poppy.

of the pergunnah.

DANRA SUKWARA. Of the whole area of this extensive pergunnah, only one-eighth is under cultivation, the rest being in a state of nature, and is occupied with hills, ravines, and jungle.

Iron.

The highlands produce an abundance of iron.

The north-western portion of the pergunnah is occupied by

**Hills and forests and Pro-
duce.**

high hills and dense forests, producing good timber, dammer, bamboos and grass.

The whole of the pergunnah produces, besides iron, tusser silk, catechu, barks for dyes, Muhoora petals, mustard, castor oil, cotton and a small quantity of tobacco. The cultivated lands produce good and luxuriant crops of rice, wheat, poppy, ahur dal, sugar-cane, Koortee, Kullye, junera, goondeelee, which are watered from the Chandun.

The principal villages are Jypoor, Banka, Kudhar, Jumdaba, (at

Villages.

which here are police chowkies) Dunra Sukwara, Luchmepoor, the residence of

a petty Rajah, and Bhoresar, an iron mart. A natural good road traverses the pergunnah from north to south, leading from Bhaugulpoor to Byjnath or Deoghur.

The jungles of this pergunnah are well-peopled with half-wild
 Half-wild races. races, harmless, quiet, and peaceable.
 Their clothes are either made at home, or
 are imported from the low lands. They are mostly armed with
 bows and arrows, with which I have seen them kill bears, birds,
 and hares,—the latter when at full speed, the birds when on the
 wings, and the bears when brought to bay.

At Banka a market is held twice a week; at Kudhar and
 Markets. Bhoresar are iron markets.

In the northern portion of the pergunnah is a high hill named
 Trigonometrical Survey Stations. Doorga, on which is one of the Great
 Trigonometrical Survey stations.

CHUNDWEH AND PUSSYE^a. These two pergunnahs,
 lying contiguous and resembling each other closely, are but poorly
 cultivated, the soil being dry, gravelly, or downright rock.

The produce is rice, junera, goondeelee, mustard, a small
 quantity of cotton, and tobacco—a small quantity of tusser is
 produced, as well as iron. The inhabitants are the same as Danra
 Sukwara.

A trigonometrical station is on the summit of the Rungar Hill
 Trigonometrical Station. on the south-eastern corner of Chundweh
 pergunnah.

The Chandun River forms the boundary for five miles on the
 The Chandun. west, separating the pergunnah (Chundweh) from Danra Sukwara.

To the south (of Pussye) is a small cluster of hills consist-
 A vein lead ore. ing of five naked masses of gneiss named
 Puchpuhar: to the south-east of this
 hill is a vein of lead ore.

A good road passes through the pergunnah (Pussye), leading
 Road. from Bhaugulpoor to Soory, the civil
 station of Beerbhoom.

^a Transferred to Sonthal Pergunnahs.

SUKHURABADEE.¹⁰ This is a well-cultivated tract of country, bordered by the Ganges to the north-east and by the Kurrukpur Hills to the west. Several small streams flow from the hills, two of which rise from hot sources, the Mun and the Kishee Koond nullah. From these streams numerous water-courses are fed, which are seen intersecting the country in every direction.

The produce is principally rice, wheat, poppy, indigo, ahur dal,
Produce. sugar-cane and paun.

Along the banks of the Ganges is the old Moghul road leading
from Calcutta via Rajmahal, Bhaugulpoor
Roads. and Monghyr to Patna. Another good road from Monghyr, passing through the large invalid sepoy village Nya Gurhee, leads to Kurrukpoor, passing through the strip of jungle at the foot of the hills, which affords shooting to the sportsman of Monghyr.

The Kishee Koond nullah rises from several hot and cold springs
under the eastern face of the hills: they
Hot and cold springs. vary in temperature from 105° to cold water. The hot stream from the Seetakoond Lake, in pergunnah Monghyr, also flows through the northern corner of the pergunnah, falling into the River Ganges.

The principal villages are Nya Gurhee and Kulleeanpoor
Villages. Kurhureea.

There is an indigo factory four miles south of Nya Gurhee, also
one at Bureearpoor, five miles to the
Indigo factories. south-east of the same village.

On the eastern boundary is a small hill, capped by a Hindoo temple, named Dhol Puharee.

LUKHUNPOOR.¹¹ Principal villages are Manikpoor, Urjusunje, Ghazeepoor, where there is also an indigo factory, and Nya Gaon.

A good road traverses the pergunnah from north to south, leading from Bhaugulpoor to Deoghur in Beerbhoom.

JEHANGEERA. The pergunnah is well-cultivated and

¹⁰ Transferred to District Monghyr.

¹¹ Portion of Lukhunpoor has been transferred to Monghyr.

prettily wooded with mango groves and palm trees, and produces rice, wheat, poppy, sugar-cane and indigo.

Twenty seven square miles of the total area are subject to inundation from the Ganges and Chandun Rivers.

The Sooltangunje well-known granite sculptured rocks, capped with pretty temples, stand in the river, immediately under the southern bank of the Ganges; the western rock is entirely surrounded by water, the eastern one is still attached to the main land, and at its base is an opium godown for the receipt of the drug previous to its despatch to Patna. One mile south-west from the rocks is a high mound supposed to be the ruins of an old fort: it occupies about thirty-five acres of ground, on the summit of which is an indigo factory.

There is a thannah at Kumurgunje, and a Trigonometrical Survey station near the indigo factory mound.

The old Mogul road follows the banks of the River Ganges.

PERGUNNAH BHIAUGULPOOR

The northern portion of pergunnah Bhaugulpoor is very low, being inundated during the rainy season by the united waters of the Chandun river and several smaller *nullahs* flowing from the south. The Chandun leaves the southern hills, a broad and impetuous torrent, but as it nears the lowland, it spreads all over the country by about fifteen different channels, only three of which ever reach the Ganges. One of these streams retains the name of Chandun, a mere water-course, which flowing through a hard *kunkur* soil, pours its water into the Ganges at Champanuggur, two miles west of the town of Bhaugulpoor.

A broad belt of *kunkur*, extending the whole length of the northern face of the pergunnah, forms a natural and effectual barrier to incursions of the River Ganges. It is upon this broad *kunkur* belt that the town and station of Bhaugulpoor is situated; and were it not for this bank, the River Ganges would flow five or six miles further to the south than it now does, or

through the low and inundated country. This bank of *kunkur* is about two miles broad, and densely wooded with mango, jack, fan-

Flora.

leaf palm, date-trees and gardens, and extends from near Monghyr to Colgong,

a distance of sixty miles. It is to the presence of this dense belt of forest that Bhaugulpoor probably owes its salubrity, as the trees

Its effects on climate.

offer a most effectual barrier to the large bodies of malaria that arise from the

extensive flooded country immediately to the south, trees possessing the well-known property of absorbing, and otherwise rendering innocuous, large bodies of malaria and other gases inimical to human existence. Immediately on leaving this belt or forest, and

South: a lowland.

proceeding to the south, the country is found to be very low and almost treeless,

and from its being inundated during the rainy season, is almost entirely devoted to rice cultivation. This broad and low belt of land is about four miles in width, and extends the whole length of the pergunnah east and west. On leaving this lowland, the country rises a few feet, and although rice is still extensively

Its production.

cultivated, wheat, sugarcane, poppy, mustard, arhur dāl, pāun, koorthee, castor

seed, and garden stuffs are seen in great abundance all bespeaking a rich and profitable soil, which is of a light greyish colour or Kewal.

Mango groves and palm trees, babul acacious, banian and

Mango and palm trees.

peepul trees occupy a large portion of the land, giving to the landscape a

cheerful appearance.

Whenever a small stream appears, the lands in its immediate

Irrigation.

vicinity are irrigated, otherwise the pergunnah generally cannot be said to be

under irrigation. During the rainy season, care is, however, taken to lead the water from the Chandun river and nullahs, by ditches and water-courses, to the rice-fields.

Numerous villages occupy the land, but the huts are of a very

Villages, huts and cattle.

miserable description. Cattle are abundant, both cows, bullocks and buffaloes.

There are none, or very few horses or ponies.

Where the high road from Bhaugulpoor to Beerbhoom crosses

Physical aspects of the country, at a distance of 20 miles from Bhaugulpoor. the Chandun river or about 20 miles from the station of Bhaugulpoor, the country begins to wear a different aspect.

The land rises by easy ascent, the hilly country commences; the soil being less deep than to the northward, and lying as it does upon the rocks of primitive formation, the water is more superficial allowing the trees to attain an enormous growth, far beyond anything that is ever seen on the deep alluvial plains of the Ganges; the muhooa (*bassia latifolia*) now becomes common, the palm trees almost cease

to be seen; the mango-trees are no longer seen in planted groves, but are

Its vegetation. scattered about in small groups; the cotton tree attains an enormous size, measuring sixty to seventy feet in circumference, patches of jungle appear, the fields of wheat and gram, instead of being neatly ploughed east and west, as is the case in the highly cultivated or northern and central portions of the pergunnah, are shapeless and irregular, large spaces of grassland and bushes being left between the fields, villages become scattered,—all bespeaking a country but lately reclaimed from the neighbouring jungle.

About one half of the pergunnah is occupied by unproductive

Eastern and southern portion of the pergunnah unproductive. jungle land, both of grass bushes, and trees, principally lying in the eastern and southern portion of the pergunnah; the western portion and the land lying

along the banks of the Chandun being highly cultivated and productive. In the south-east corner, six

Western portion productive. square miles are occupied by hills, the same amount of land is similarly occupied in the south-east corner in Tuppeh Barkop¹²; and the remarkable granite (gneiss) hill Mundar¹⁸ stands

Mundar hill. near the southern boundary.

The lands of this pergunnah are much intermixed with those

¹² Tuppāh Barkop.: Tappā is a territorial division smaller than a pargana;

¹⁸ Mandargiri (N. lat. 24° 50' 28", E. long. 87° 4' 41"): a small mountain about 800 ft. high, of the greater sanctity in Hindu Mythology.

Lands intermixed. of other pergunnahs; two entire pergunnahs, or Suteearee and Hazar Tukkee, are situated within its boundary, besides lands of Colgong, Kherhee, and Umloo Moteea.

Remarkable object. The most remarkable objects in the pergunnah are, first, the town and station of Bhaugulpoor. The town is a miserable straggling collection of huts, extending over four miles of ground cut up and divided by fields, gardens, plantations, and numerous roads, the whole place resembling an inhabited forest rather than a town. Chumpanuggur and Luchmeegunje, two large contiguous towns, lie immediately to the west of the old Kurrungurh fort, and form a portion of the town of Bhaugulpoor; these towns are filled with weavers, traders, and dyers, and have numerous markets. Nathnuggur, another large town lying a little to the south of the two former towns, is also full of gram-dealers, traders, and markets, and is highly populous. Kurrungurh, a high raised mound nearly two miles in circumference, is the site of the cantonment of the Bhaugulpoor Hill Rangers; it is a high, dry spot, commanding a fine view of the River Ganges. It appears to have been originally built upon a kunkur bank though much raised by ruins, rubbish, pottery, and earth, a section lately cut in making a road up to the fort shewed remains of pottery to the depth of ten or twelve feet.

At Chumpanuggur, which is at the extreme west of the town are the remains of Jain temples.

Secondly—The Mundar Hill, a mass of naked granite (gneiss) lying near the southern boundary of the pergunnah; it is also named Mudsoodun; Mundar Hill. this hill is about 800 feet in height, the summit of which is gained by a flight of steps cut in the solid rock. Remains of tanks, temples, walls, statues, fortifications, inscriptions, and other marks, show this to have once been a place of note. At the present day a modern Hindoo temple stands on the summit of the hill overhanging a fearful precipice, from the summit of which the base is not visible, by reason of the bulging out of the polished granite rock. The temple is dedicated to Mahadewa and contains a priapus; it is visited every year, during the month of January, during which

period there is a fair held at the village of Bowsee, three miles south of the hill, at which village there is a collection of viharas or temples. The most remarkable image on the hill is an Egyptian-looking figure of a gigantic size, cut from the solid rock, but is in an unfinished state. It measures eight feet four inches across the forehead, and is fifty-two feet eight inches in height; this figure should be visited and examined by some one having time to examine all the details, copy the inscriptions, and make plans of the hill, as it is a place of interest. The figure is not worshipped by the Hindoos.

On the summit of the temple is a Trigonometrical survey station, and from this spot a fine view of the country is obtained. Looking to the north, or towards the Ganges, the eye wanders over the fertile plains of Bhaugulpoor, one mass of cultivation extending for hundreds of square miles prettily varied

with villages and mango plantations; but to the west and to the south, looking over pergunnahs, Chundweh¹⁴, Pussye, Chandun Kutooreca¹⁵, Danta Sukwara¹⁶ and Hendweh far into the Beerbhoom District, is seen an uninterrupted region of jungle, occupying greatly undulating and

rising ground, here and there broken by detached hills: it is to these jungles that the zamindars are indebted for their bamboos, timbers, thatching grass, iron, muhooa petals, tusser silk, catechu and ploughs etc. During the hot weather, when every blade of grass is burnt up in the cultivated plains, the jungles become the refuge for the large herds of buffaloes and cattle. To the west, the Rajmahal Hills are seen extending in an unbroken line for seventy miles, north and south; up to the foot of which this pergunnah extends.

The main road from Bhaugulpoor to Sooree or Beerbhoom traverses the pergunnah from north to south, and as it is of a very questionable

¹⁴ Chandwa, in the Banka Sub-division.

¹⁵ Chandun Katúriyá, in the Banka Sub-division.

¹⁶ Dánta Sakhwára.

nature, carts or any wheeled conveyances, with the exception of the miserable solid wheeled hill carts, are seldom if ever seen travelling on it; Byparee pad bullocks performing all the work required either for the exportation of rice, muhooa petals, or sugar to the Ganges, or for the importation of tusser silk, catechu, muhooa petals for the distilleries, barks, bamboos, iron, and small timber from the southern jungles.

The Calcutta old road passes through the northern part of the
 Calcutta Road. pergunnah, skirting the banks of the
 River Ganges, and passing through the
 station of Bhaugulpoor.

Village roads intersect the pergunnah in all directions, but are
 Village Roads. in a wretched state, being mostly un-
 passable for wheeled carriages. The
 money expended upon their repairs being totally insufficient for
 that purpose; the sum allowed for the repairs of the main road
 from Bhaugulpoor to Beerbhoom during the cold weather of 1849-
 50 having been Rs. 5|- per *cos*, equivalent to 5s. sterling per British
 mile.

The principal towns are Bhaugulpoor civil station, Nāthnug-
 gur¹⁷, Champanuggur: principal villages
 Towns and Villages. —Ruttunpur, where is a thana; Doomran-
 wan, Umurpoor, where is a munsiff's cutchery, opium godown,
 thannah, and indigo factory; Suleimpoor; Chundeepea; Badakhya;
 Bede Sejour; Gobrain; Tador; Seloudha; Nayanuggur; Mahgawan;
 Kurmoo; Barkop where is a Trigonometrical survey station; Pipra;
 Lutona; Bysa; Soondeha; Owrya. Indigo factories are in the villages
 of Doomranwan and Umurpoor.

KHERHEE.¹⁸ With the exception of nine square miles of
 ground occupied by grass jungle and hills, this pergunnah is highly
 cultivated and well populated.

Principal villages are Dowlutpore, Koomytha, Manikpoor,
 Behloo, Kherhee, where there is an abkaree and a handsome tank
 named Shahkoond, and Umba. At Burawan is the Bussoola indigo
 factory.

¹⁷ Nathnagar. Champanagar.

¹⁸ Portion of Kherhee has been transferred to Monghyr.

On the Kherhee hill are the remains of an old fort¹⁹, temples, buildings, a pukka well, and several images.

Several fair village roads traverse the pergunnah.

COLGONG. The high road from Calcutta to Patna passes through the centre of the pergunnah, one halting place being at Colgong, which town is situated on the right bank of the Ganges immediately under a small granite hill, on the summit of which is built the dwelling house of Mr. Barnes, an indigo planter.

The bazars of the town are well supplied with grains of different sorts which are exported in boats.

Immediately opposite the town of Colgong, and in the middle of the main stream of the Ganges, stand three islands composed of huge masses of naked granite.

The principal villages are Colgong, where there is a police chowkee, post or dāk house, indigo factory, coal depot. Pyntee, where there is an indigo factory, market, and ferry; Peealapoor, where is bazar and indigo factory; there are also indigo factories at the following places, Burranee, Shunkurpoor, Shampoor, Sahoo Bara, Mudhoopoor, Luchmeepoor, Mudsoodunpur, south of the Ganges: and Ismaelpoor, Ramnuggur, and Azeinabad north of the Ganges.

The Koosi River, flowing from the Himalayah mountains through the Morong and Zillah Purneah, falls into the Ganges on the northern boundary of the pergunnah.

Several small and insignificant streams, drainers from the southern hills, traverse the pergunnah and fall into the Ganges, viz., the Goga, Bhijna, and Kowa.

GODDA is a small pergunnah lying at the immediate western foot of the Rajmahal hills and has about

Pergunnah Godda, its produce, inhabitants and principal places.

one-third of its entire area occupied by low hills, offshoots from the Rajmahal hills, ravines, stony ground and jungles.

The remainder is tolerably well cultivated, producing rice, gram, mustard, junera, cotton, poppy, koorthee, linseed, oorid and a variety of the smaller pulses. The Muhooa tree abounds in the pergunnah,

¹⁹ Kehri, acc. to Buchanon, was the chief seat of the Khetauri Rajahs. Journal, p. 160.

the petals of which are collected and exported to Bhaugulpoor.

The inhabitants of the pergunnah consist in a great measure of Ghatwals and Sonthals, who cultivate the soil with diligence.

The principal places in the pergunnah are Dhumsaeen, where there is a thannah and where a fair for the sale of brass pots, cotton-cloths, iron, salt, tobacco, and trinkets, is held for fifteen days during the month of *Maugh* or February. The fair is well attended by the hill people, who exchange the produce of their hills, viz., wooden ploughs in the rough wooden platters, pestles and mortars, honey in great quantities, junera, charcoal, bamboos, rough bedsteads, and capsicums, for salt, tobacco, rice, sweatmeats, oil, cloths, beads and earthen pans.

Kusba Godda, the capital of the pergunnah, is a small village situated in a fertile plain under rice cultivation, one mile to the south of which, on the banks of the small hill stream Kujeea, which flows through the pergunnah from east to west, is the residence of Mr. Fitzpatrick, an English Zemindar, whose estate as far as the eye can see, is a mass of rice and gram cultivation.

The other large villages are Kojhee and Banka Ghat.

Immediately to the south of pergunnah Godda are 5,220 acres of rocky and jungly ground belonging to pergunnah Sooltanabad, which pergunnah is situated to the east of the Rajmahal hills distant about 16 miles. It is populated by Sonthals, and a very few acres are cleared of jungle although it contains 12 villages.

The pergunnah is crossed in every direction by village roads; a tolerable cart road leads from Mr. Fitzpatrick's house to Bhaugulpoor.

HENDWEH, occupying 566 square miles, is situated upon the high rocky land forming the watershed of the series of streams flowing respectively to the north and to the south. About one-third of the whole area is cultivated, the remaining two-thirds are in a state of nature, being occupied by either hills, bare gneiss

Pergunnah of Hendweh
and Tuppah Belputta.

Physical formation and
general aspect of Hendweh.

rocks, ravines, patches of unproductive iron, clay, *kunkur* beds or Sakua jungle. The cultivation is, generally with the exception of large and extensive tracts on the north-east and eastern boundary entirely confined to small patches around the village sites which are exceedingly numerous though small. The population, for so badly cultivated a tract is immense, and consists principally of Ghatwals, Sonthals, and Banyahs.

The crops grown in the pergunnah are principally rice, mustard, wheat, junera, cotton and the small pulses.

The petals of the muhooa and the fruit of the byre or *Zyziphus jujuba* are collected, the former exported to Bhaugulpoor the latter eaten by the resident population. Large quantities of mustard seed are exported towards the Ganges for the manufacture of the *kurwa tel* or mustard oil. The other products of the pergunnah are iron, tusser silk, timber, bamboos.

The principal villages are Noni Haut, a fine flourishing village with a weekly market, a thannah, one Hindoo temple, a very fair bazar, and some fine mango groves. It is situated on very high ground near the banks of a small stream which falls into the More River, three miles from the village. To this village numerous Sonthals resort from their jungle homes to purchase salt, tobacco, beads and grain, or to effect an exchange for those articles, giving in return, bamboos, wood, iron, gums and barks, the produce of the jungles. This village, in former unsettled days, was probably the mart for salt for all the surrounding hill people and Sonthals, whence its name Noni Haut, or salt market. The village is situated upon the high road leading from Bhaugulpoor on the Ganges to Soory, the capital of Beerbhoom; the road, being

Road from Bhaugulpoor to Soory.

over hard and gravelly soil, is naturally good, though very tortuous, having constantly to avoid deep ravines and dense patches of jungle.

At Hasdina there is a police Chowkee. Sarmi and Jhapania are two large villages, and Baskinath is famous for its temple and tank.

Sarmi, Jhapania and Baskinath.

The More river traverses the pergunnah from north-west to south-east, receiving within the pergunnah the Pipra, Bhoortooree, and Chupree nullahs, all of which are dry water-courses during the hot weather, though a small quantity of water may at any period of the year be obtained by digging in the sand.

The hills that lie scattered over the pergunnah nowhere rise into distant ranges except east of Noni Haut, where two small parallel and contiguous ranges are seen; the western one extending 4 miles north and south, the eastern one 5 miles north and south; the detached hills are in general bare and rounded masses of gneiss penetrated by caves and filled with numbers of the common black bears, who commit great devastation amongst the crops, principally devouring the junera. The jungles swarm with jungle fowl, black partridges, peafowl, and bush quail.

A good road runs from Noni Haut to Deoghur west, another through Sarmi and eventually through the Rajmahal Hills to the east; another leads south to Soory, the same road travelling north, leads to Bhaugulpoor. The whole pergunnah is intersected with tolerably good village roads.

Madho Sing, Zemindar and generally termed Rajah, residing at Nugwan, pays rent to the Rajah of Dhurbanga and owner of the Muhul Kurruckpoor, the sum of Rs. 2,231-6 annas yearly for the greater part of the pergunnah, and collects from the ryots the yearly sum of Rs. 42,351.

The Luchmeepoor Rajah owns 14 villages, for which he pays Government the yearly sum of Rs. 182-9 annas, and collects Rs. 2,341. Rajah Bhowanee Sing, pays Government the annual rent of Co's Rs. 46 and 9 annas for a few villages, and collects Rs. 4,042-8 annas.

Zemindar Horil Narain Singh of Zhonpa pays Government Rs. 136-8 annas and collects Rs. 2,382.

KANKJOLE. About one-half of the whole pergunnah area is

liable to inundation from the Ganges, and there are extensive tracts of jheel which never dry up. Tradition asserts that these jheels occupy the former bed of the Ganges which flowed in that direction.

The principal produce of these pergunnahs is rice, indigo, indian corn, and junera, a small quantity of wheat, mustard and the pulses.

The jheels afford an abundance of fish, which are exported to Moorshedabad, Jungipoor and other towns on the Bhaugerutty.

About 6,000 acres are covered with low bushes and tree jungle, the former habitation of rhinoceros and elephants, and still filled with pigs and deer; of the former large animals, the rhinoceros have retreated to the northern and north-eastern face of the Rajmahal Hills, where they find cover in the dense forest; the elephants have retreated to the south.

The principal towns and villages are Rajmahal, Sikree Gullee, Oodwanallah, Unmohobutpoor and Phoodkeepoor.

At Rajmahal there is a fine bazar for grain, iron-ware, cloth, fish, wood, toys and many other things found in native bazars.

There is also a police thannah, a moonsiff's cutchery, post office, an indigo factory, a serai, several coal godowns, for the Government and private steam companies' coal; and a ferry across the Ganges; the ruins of the old Mahomedan city extend for about four miles in a westerly direction, mostly buried in rank jungle.

The pergunnah is owned by several Begums, who pay into Government the following yearly sums, viz.:—

		Rs.	a.	p.
Lan Begum	..	8,655	7	1¼
Kureem Ool Nissa Begum	..	4,796	2	8¾
Hafirun Ool Nissa Begum	..	2,708	3	4¾
		16,159	13	2¾

TEELEEEAGURHEE. The Calcutta post road runs through the pergunnah from the east to west, but is impassable during the rainy season.

There are several indigo factories in the pergunnah, a good bazar at Sahibgunge, and an old ruined stone fort at Teeleeagurhee, built by the Mahomedans, and through which the main road passes. It is built in a dense jungle upon a spur of the neighbouring hills, and which at this spot run down to the Ganges, and during the rains completely commands the approaches to the road.

UMBAR. The greater portion of the pergunnah is owned by a Ranee who resides at Pakour, the only place of any note in the pergunnah. Towards the eastern boundary, the soil is well occupied by rice plantations and numerous substantial villages of Bengallees.

SOOLTANABAD. This pergunnah is situated on the south-eastern boundary of the zillah.

Iron of a good quality is smelted by the Sonthals from Iron-stone collected in the jungles. A dye, the produce of the Soondree tree (*rottlera tinctoria*) is largely collected and exported toward the Bhaugerry River; it is a red dye extracted from the small round fruit of the Soondree; the dye is principally used for woollen articles.

The jungles were formerly well stocked with wild elephants, five of which alone remain at the present day, (1850) having either been captured or killed. These animals create much alarm in the villages lying along their beat. Tigers, deer, pigs, pea-fowl and jungle-fowl, abound in the jungles and ravines.

The principal place in the pergunnah is Mohespoor, a neat substantial village on the right bank of the Bansoolee Nudee, which flows through the Rajmahal Hills. There is a thannah at Bhimpur.

The whole pergunnah is owned by a Ranee by name Jankee Koomaree, whose husband is Gopal Sing; both residing at Muhespoor.

BELPUTTAH. This Tuppeh, forming the most southern point of the district of Bhaugulpoor, comprising an area of 442½ square miles, the greater portion of which is covered with forests, hills, ravines, rocks and broken ground; the surface of the pergunnah is undulating and much more densely wooded than the neighbouring pergunnahs; the trees which consist principally sakūa, sekulta, ebony, chironjee,²⁰ kūrūm, peepul, burgut, neem and cotton-trees attain a large size and much good sakūa timber is conveyed away yearly to the banks of the More river to Beerbhoom for the purpose of boat building, and to Soorj, also in Beerbhoom, for building purposes; the jungles teem with bears and tigers and the number of deaths yearly from these latter animals may be reckoned at two human beings a week. A few wild animals still roam under the subehella group of hills to the south-west.

The villages generally are well shaded by fine mango trees which are scarce in the neighbouring pergunnah of Deoghur. The principal inhabitants are Sonthals and Bonyas, the latter smelt large quantities of iron which is exported to Beerbhoom, the ore is a red earthy modular iron-stone, which is abundant wherever the rocks are near the surface of the country; magnetic iron-dust is seen sparkling in every water-course and throughout the pergunnah.

To the north, a few hill people reside on the hills, they are the Mal or Maler people, and are similar to the Rajmahal hill tribe, speaking the same language, and possessing the same features, and have the same customs unfettered by caste.

The whole of the hills to the south and west are either granite, gneiss, quartz, or horn-stone with numerous green-stone dykes; but along the banks of the Brahminee river to the north, where the Tuppeh is bounded by the Damin-i-koh, extensive beds of good coal, iron-ores, and sand-stone are the prevailing rocks

The principal crops of the tuppeh are rice, junera, mustard; the more moderate crops are sirgoojah, linseed, cotton, gram, bora beans,

²⁰ Karanji (*Sterculia Urens*)

urhur dal, oorid, koorthes, goondelee, kodo, and murrooa. The greater bulk of these productions are exported by Bengalee traders residing at Koomruabad, towards Soory, in Beerbhoom.

The principal villages in Belputtah are Doomka, where there is a thanna; Koomurabad, the grand mart of the pergunnah and rendezvous of the Sonthals for purpose of dancing and feasting; Daka and Palasborie.

The More river, an impetuous mountain torrent, intersects the tuppeh and leaves the boundary at Raneebehal through a gap in the hills. The Brahminee river, whose bed is filled with coal beds, bounds the tuppeh to the north-east for twenty miles; neither of these streams are navigable within the limits of the tuppeh.

The principal groups of hills are the Mal and Lukhunpoor group to the south-west, occupying twenty-five square miles; the subchella group to the west, occupying twelve square miles; the Ramghur group to the east, occupying twenty-one square miles; the Sunkera group to the north, occupying ten square miles; and a nameless group on the southern boundary, occupying twenty square miles.

Numerous hot springs are said to exist within or near the boundary of this tuppeh, viz., four coss south of Noni Haut, in Pergunnah Hendweh, in the Bhoorburi Nullah, near the village of Maharu, is a hot spring.

Another exists five coss west of Koomurabad, at Noonbhil.

Another, quarter of a coss west of Koomurabad, at Hatbullia, in a ravine.

Another, on the banks of the Sidh nullah, five coss south of Koomurabad, in the district of Beerbhoom, where coal is also procured.

THE RAJMAHAL HILLS, OR DAMIN-I-KOH.²¹ The extensive and hitherto unexplored tract of hilly country, extending from the banks of the Ganges at Sikree Gullee to the boundary of the district of Birabhúm, a distance of seventy miles, and known as

²¹ The Damin-i-Koh has been transferred to the Sonthal Parganas.

the Rajmahal Hills, forms the most north-easterly shoulder or portion of the Vindhya mountains; which range, extending from near the mouth of the Nerbudda and Taptee Rivers in Candeish, and after having travelled eight hundred and fifty miles in an east-north-east direction, or quite across India to Sikree Gullee here turns to the south, passes through the districts of Birabhûm, Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Cuttuck, and eventually merges into the ghats or mountains running parallel to the Coromandel Coast.

The hills and their contained valleys are not only unexplored, but it is not generally known that the hills are inhabited; the general opinion being that the Rajmahal Hills are an uninhabited jungle.

The hills are inhabited by two races; the mountaineers, or a
Races. race living on the summit of the hills,
and who are, with rare exceptions, never
found residing in the valleys; and the Sonthals, who reside in the valleys. Both these races have distinct languages, neither of which are understood by the Hindustâni man, nor are the two languages understood by the two races.

The Sonthals are interlopers; the hill-men are the original inhabitants.

As disputes from time to time occasionally occurred between the hill-men and the zemindars at the foot of the hills, relative to their proper boundaries, Government, in the year 1832, deputed John Petty Ward, of the Civil Service, in Company with Captain Tanner as Surveyor, to demarcate a boundary: this was accomplished and large masonry pillars erected at convenient distances; thus enclosing, with the exception of a few outlying hills to the south, the whole of the Rajmahal Hills. All lands within the pillars was claimed by Government, and by Government given over to the hill-men to be held by them as long as they behaved themselves in an orderly manner; all without the hills belongs to the various pergunnahs of the District Bhaugulpoor, bordering upon the hills.

All lands within the pillars *bonâ fide* occupied by the hill-men pays no rent or tax to Government; but as the hill-men cannot be induced to cultivate the valleys, nor the extensive tracts of

level land outside the hills, Government permitted a wandering race of people, named the Sonthals, whose country extends from Cuttack across Mánbhúm, Chota-Nagpur, Házáribágh, Palámow, to Rewá, to locate themselves upon the land repudiated by the hill-men, paying a light land-tax for the ground so occupied.

In process of time these Sonthals increased in numbers, both by birth and immigration: the land that was being cleared of forest became extensive, so, the Government appointed James Pontet, of the uncovenanted Civil Service, "Superintendent of the Damin-i-Koh," with power to guard the interest of Government by making favourable land settlements with the Sonthals and to collect the rent.

Pontet took charge of his duties in 1838; the yearly ground-rent then being two thousand rupees, and the number of Sonthal villages amounting to above forty, with a population of about three thousand souls. But now, in 1851 A. D., Pontet has, by judicious management, raised the rent to Co's rupees 43,918-13 annas $5\frac{1}{2}$ pies and the number of Sonthals amounts to 82,795 souls, contained in 1473 villages, 1164 of which pay rent and 309 of which are free.

The boundary of the Damin-i-Koh encloses an irregular shaped figure, as it generally follows the shape of the hills; the greatest length from the north to south is seventy miles; the greatest width, which is near the centre of the hills, is thirty miles; whilst to the north and south it is only sixteen miles in width.

In the centre of the hills is a fine level valley 24 miles in length and five in width; it is drained by the deep nullah the Morel or Morung, flowing from the north, and another the Jamúni or Gumáni, flowing from the South.

The Banslui Naddi, a fine broad stream, flowing from west to east, intersects the hills flowing through the Pachwára Pass.

The Brahminee nullah forms the southern boundary of the Damin-i-Koh,

To the natives of the plains the climate of the hills during several months of the year is most fatal, jungle fever carrying them off in a few hours. The bad season commences with the westerly winds in

Climata.

March; the healthiness of December, January, and February is prolonged to March.

The hill-men and Sonthals suffer but little from the jungle fever, for when attacked by it, it assumes a much more mild form and is accompanied by ague.

The soil in and around the hills differs widely in different localities; the large valley and spot outside the hills possess a fine black soil, known as the regur or cotton soil. Besides the cotton soil, light-coloured loams, clayey soil, gravelly, and sandy soils also appear.

The Sonthal or low-lander, is a short, well-made, and active man; quiet, inoffensive, and cheerful: he has thick lips, high cheek-bones, and spread nose: he is an intelligent, obliging, but timid creature; very cowardly towards mankind, but brave when confronted with wild animals: he is unfettered with caste, and an industrious cultivator of the soil.

The women are fat and short and have a very pleasing expression of countenance.

The Sonthal is a larger and taller man than the hill-men, and generally stands five feet six inches in height, and weighs about eight stone.

With the exception of the larger villages in the central valley, the Sonthal villages are generally buried in thick jungle, with small cleared patches of ground near the village, bearing crops of rice, junera, (Indian corn) mustard and several kinds of pulse. The villages are composed of upright log huts, with thatched roofs. Almost to every house is attached a pig-stye, or a dove-cot, and bullock or buffalo-sheds are distributed throughout the villages.

The food of the Sonthals consists principally of junera (*Sorghum vulgare*), indian corn, seasoned with the byre (*Ziziphus jujuba*), chillies, mustard oil, sohajna alburnum, or onions; and accompanied with eggs, poultry, and occasionally swine's flesh, goat or kid;

the supply of meat depending principally upon the sacrifices.

In every village there is a small thatched roof, supported upon one or two wooded posts: the roof gives cover to a small earthen platform raised a foot above the ground; this spot is termed the mangi; at this spot is buried the memory of some former mangi or village governor, who for his good conduct, abilities, or for some other good quality has been canonized, and the spot named after him.

The working dress of the male Sonthal consists of a mere strip of cloth fastened to a hair or cotton string, that goes round the loins, it is passed between the legs: the women, on the contrary, are well-clothed with an ample flowing cloth, one end of which is fastened round the waist, the other is passed over the left-shoulder, leaving the right shoulder, part of the breast and arm, entirely free, and is allowed to hang down in front. When the women can afford it, they load their limbs with zinc and bell-metal ornaments; the men wear small zinc ear-rings, a few finger rings, and occasionally an iron wrist bangle: Both male and female tie their hair into a knot on the crown of the head.

The religion of the Sonthals consists in prayers, sacrifices, and religious dances. Their prayer is a supplication to an invisible and powerful spirit for protection from famine and sickness; from disease amongst their cattle; for defence against wild animals, especially the tiger; and that their children may be defended from all dangers, amongst which are enumerated the attacks of wild animals, snake-bites, scorpion stings, and all kinds of accidents.

Outside every Sonthal village a spot is set apart for offering up sacrifices, which are made at all times of the year. In the secluded spot small stones are set up at the foot of the trees and besmeared with red paint, and generally two upright sticks are stuck in the earth, connected by a horizontal one. Under or near this group of sticks the victims are slain with a sword: the offerings consist of small conical-shaped leaf bowls or cups, filled with either rice, junera, or indian-corn, mixed with milk, ghee, spirits or water. The flesh of the victims is eaten by those invited to the feast, which

is invariably more or less a scene of debauchery terminating in a wild and most extraordinary dance.

PEMBERTON'S REPORT

Four pergunnahs (viz., Nareeddeegur, Mulhnee Gopal, Kooruh, and Ch'hai or Chye) are situated North of the Ganges. immediately to the north of the town of Bhaugulpore, the capital of the district, and on the northern side or left bank of the River Ganges. They are bounded on the extreme north by the Napaul Territory, on the west by the districts of Tirhoot and Monghyr, on the south by the Ganges River, Pergunnahs Jehangeera, Bhaugulpore, and Colgong, and on the east by the district of Purneah. They appear to have belonged formerly to Tirhoot, and are very inconveniently situated.

These pergunnahs as well as the remainder of Bhaugulpore have been settled in perpetuity.

The appearance of the country, although a complete level, is pleasing, as it is diversified with fine Its appearance. mango topes intermixed with various other kinds of trees.

Language of the inhabitants, oordoo; written Character in use, Nagree; but many understand the Persian character. Language.

The wild buffalo, hog, leopard, deer of various kinds, the antelope, hyena, jackal, fox, porcupine, Wild Animals. hare, common money, ichneumon, squirrel, and wild cat.

Wild birds, river animals, snakes and reptiles and fish are common.

Many kinds of Kullye, the theekra useful for cattle and horses, ginger, turmeric, capsicum, onions, Principal Crops. coriander, anise, gol-aloo, yams, radishes, carrots, tobacco etc.

Mango, plantain, ata, custard-apple, plum, jack, guava, jamoon, Fruit. pine-apple, mulberry, musk-melon, water-melon, lime, citron, tar-fruit, leeches, gooseberry, monkey-jack, bale or wood-apple, kirnee etc.

Rent. Is paid in two ways. *First*, in money or Nukdee; *secondly*, in kind,—as grain, oil etc., or bhanlie.

Exports. Principally are opium, indigo, Sukwa timber, onions, tobacco, and saltpetre.

Diseases. Intermittent fever with ague, enlargement of spleen, nakra (attended with fever, pain in the head, inside of the nose much swollen and cartilage very painful).

Necklace of glass beads or stone for the arms; choorees of coloured lac, sometimes of bell-metal; Ornaments. bell-metal, or sometimes silver, rings for the ankles; rings, brass, silver, and sometimes gold, for the fingers; a star on the forehead, or else part of the forehead; and head besmeared with red-lead; tatooing is also frequently adopted.

Salt. Is procurable in sufficient quantities, and at a rate available to all.

Spirits. Are in general use, distilled from the flower of the mohooa tree, or toddy. Drunkenness is very frequent, even Mussulmen indulge in this way.

The people are well pleased with the low rate of assessment.

The undermentioned classification will show the value of land per *beegah*. There are seven different rates, viz.,

		Rs. a. p.			
1st or best land is rented at	..	2	0	0	per beegah
2nd quality	..	1	8	0	..
3rd	..	1	4	0	..
4th	..	1	0	0	..
5th	..	0	12	0	..
6th	..	0	8	0	..
7th	..	0	4	0	..

The two last are jungle in a state of being cleared, and jungle just let out for that purpose, which gradually rise in value until they assume a 1st, 2nd, 3rd, or 4th position in the above scale; or else they rest at No. 5, which is a poor soil, and is never rented for more than 12 annas per beegah. The cause of the low rate of assessment per acre, is easily accounted for. In 1798, when the last settle-

ment took place, nearly two-thirds of Bhaugulpoor north of the Ganges was grass or tree-jungle; the assessment of these jungles was for the most part nominal, and even the cultivated parts of these pergunnahs were settled very favourably for the owners of the soil and on mere estimated areas: hence the great discrepancy between the average jumma per acre of the whole, and the actual value of the land as noted above.

Very great difficulty is experienced in procuring information respecting the number of houses in each village; the village officers invariably try to throw obstacles in the way when an inquirer is sent to the spot; or if they are summoned to your office, with either lie outright, or so interland their answers with irrelevant matter, as to render it difficult to come to any conclusion. The Hindoo population very much exceeds the Mussulman. It appears that Bhaugulpoor, north of the Ganges, contains 965 villages, 1,698 $\frac{822}{640}$ square miles, 90,460 houses and a population of 452,500 souls.

NAREEDEEGUR

The principal rivers are the Tiljoogah, the Patee, and the Doomra.

Rivers. Dagmurra, Peeprahee, and Peepra, but the largest and most populous town is Jhunjharpoor, detached in Pergunnah Puchee of Tirhoot. Part of the

Principal Towns. Tirhoot Rajah's family reside here. There are several well-constructed houses in the town: trade appears to be in a flourishing state: and there is an air of comfort and prosperity throughout. Weekly markets are held in all the above-named towns; they have also well-stocked bazars. Weekly hunts are likewise held in several villages throughout the pergunnah.

This pergunnah is placed under the police jurisdiction of the Soopaul thannah, and there are two chowkies of this thannah situated in the villages of Dugmarra, Peeprahee and Peepra. The people now appear to be quiet and well-disposed, and it is but seldom that a serious misdemeanour takes place. Thirty-five or forty years ago, this part of the country was covered with jungle, but numerous Rajpoot settlers from Shahabad and Tirhoot took

forcible possession of the jungle lands, and gradually cleared them, about which time the character of the people was noted for its turbulence and disorder. Gangs of dacoits frequented the jungles and thugs were numerous.

Altogether this pergunnah seems to be in a prosperous state: the present system of mustajiri or middlemen, the bane of all agriculturists throughout the world, must be abolished, before the power of the ryot to improve his tenure can be fully developed.

MULHNEEGOPAL

Pergunnah Mulhneegopal is a small but compact pergunnah and very highly cultivated. It is beautifully wooded, and interspersed with numerous Hindoo temples, especially in the vicinity of the large towns and villages.

Soopaul, Mulhanee Gote, Beam, Burooaree, Pursurman, Hurtolee, Salhnee, and Sookhpoor. In all these there are weekly markets and hunts are held in several places throughout the pergunnah.

The Soopaul police jurisdiction prevails here also, and there are no detached chowkees within the pergunnah.

NURSINGHPoor. KOORUH

The Talabeh, the Purwan, the Dhusun, the Chelaunee and the Rivers. Lorun.

This pergunnah is partly within the police jurisdiction of thannah Soopaul and partly within that of Kishungunge. The Deputy Magistrate (Mr. Doveton) holds his kutcherry within this pergunnah, at the village of Dorum Mudehpoor.

Balaree, Dorum Mudehpoor, Rughoonathpoor, Shahpoor, Charamokh, and Kank: and the only place of note is Singhaisur-than, held sacred by the Hindoos.

The climate is salubrious for Europeans.

CH'HAI OR CHYE

Pergunnah Ch'hai or Chye is the most southerly of the Bhaugulpoor Pergunnahs north of the Ganges.

The Ganges, the Kulbullia, the Chugra, Tiljoogah, Douse and Rivers. Cutna.

This pergunnah is under the police jurisdiction of thanahs Kishungunge and Bhaugulpore. There is an outpost chowkie at Seebgunge, and also one at Phoolaut.

Seebgunge is a celebrated mart for all kinds of native merchandise. The other principal towns are Shezadpore, Sheikhpore, Chumun Khorhan Meilik, Alumnuggur, Phoolaut, Jypore Johur, Bhomurpore, Dhurumpore, Ruttee, Purmasurpore, Mudhowra, Masoompore Dulle, Sonebursa, Umurpore, Oosmanpore, Toolsepore, Rugra, Durhura, Sydpore Baksh, Beshunpore, Jysingh and Moorlee Kishungunge. In the latter there is a moonsiff's kutcherry, a thannah, and an opium godown. These towns are all in a flourishing state, have several modee's shops each, and weekly markets.

Many indigo planters reside in this pergunnah, who also follow other agricultural pursuits much to the general improvement of the country. I do not agree with those who designate all indigo planters as "atrocious oppressors." I have had many opportunities of observing their dealings with the natives; some may deserve the character, but in justice to the gentlemen who have settled in this part of the district, I must state that they are grievously wronged; for so far as I have observed, the relative duties of landlord and tenant are strictly observed, and I am persuaded very few ryots would exchange their European masters for Hindustani ones. With the former they are sure of protection and justice, while with the latter it is notorious that they are fleeced by the musajirs of every available rupee.

Tillage. This pergunnah is decidedly in a prosperous state, and may be said to be highly cultivated.

Climate. The climate is salubrious.

G. LOCH'S REPORT

On the 11th December (1851) I left the station (Bhaugulpore) and encamped at Seebgunge on the opposite bank of the Ganges. I was there occupied for three days surveying the boundaries of four mehals, Jhao Oosmanpur, Jhow Kazee Konah,²² , Jhow

²² Here MS. not clear.

Sobnathpur. These lands are of recent formation and have been professionally surveyed, but owing to the periodical inundation and to the whole area having been farmed to one person all the Taks have been destroyed and the ryots are quite uncertain as to the boundary. After appointing ameens to measure the lands, I proceeded to Singhasurpore, Perghunna Nursingpoor Coorha passing through Beehpore, Phoolaut, Kissungunge and Bailoo. Singhasurpore and Ramputty are two villages belonging to the proprietors of Talooqa Seah whose estates are now under butwarrah. On 20th and 22nd December, I went over these villages and found their condition much better than had been

described. Singhasur is celebrated for its temple and a small brick building but of no antiquity, though the place itself at the junction of the Dhussan and Pursun rivers has long been esteemed as a place of pilgrimage. An annual fair for three days is held at Singhasur in February at the Sheebratee and is well attended. From Singhasur I proceeded on

the 23rd to Laor Koonith, Pergh. Mulneegopal, another of the villages of Talooqa Seah and remained there till 31st. While encamped at Laor I went over that village and also over Hatwaria, Putra Sukutpoor, Belokra, Etaharee all in Talooqa Seah. On 31st I encamped at Burail and was enabled to visit other villages of Talooqa Seah, viz., Burail, Ekamah, Byro, Seah, Gopalpoor, Bijjulpore, and Simrah. From Burail I returned to Singashurpoor on the 9th January, 1852 and tested the measurement of that village and Ramputty which one of the ameens had completed. On 12th January I proceeded eastward

Seereepoor Chinga and made a settlement in perpetuity of that mehal, and tested the measurement of Seereepoor Sickyaiee and Surhur, but was unable to complete the settlement of either. From Seereepoor I went to Lohur visiting mehal Chuk Chitrah in the way and converting the Deputy Collector Piron's temporary into a permanent settlement. On 17th I was engaged visiting Peernuggur Puttee Barah, the proprietors of which complained of over assessment. On 19th I went to Boodwah, Pergh. Chye and visited Kashnuggur to the east of the district, as Rajah Beedyanund Singh claimed certain lands

settled by the Deputy Collector as part of his purchased estate. From Boodwah I returned to the station by Koorhan, Allumnuggur, Phoolout and Beehpoor.

Immediately on crossing the Ganges, perceptible change is apparent in the character of the country.

Character of the Country.

The palmyra palm and date tree cease to be the prominent foliage and as the traveller proceeds they are seldom seen. The Mango and Bamboo and Sisoo flourish and in Pergh. Mulneegopal, the Mango topes are magnificent. From the Ganges to the Teeljooga nuddy the country is well-cultivated; maize (junara), pulse (koortee), kalye, mutter, raher, wheat, barley, mustard, gram, castor oil, linseed (tise or chickna) are

Crops.

the crops now in the ground. From the Teeljooga river to Superda, 4 or 5 miles north of the Gugree the country is low, covered with grass jungle liable to inundation and about as unprofitable and uninteresting a tract as could be found. This tract extends from the Koosy across Pergh. Chye and into Pergh. Turkeya, Zillah Monghyr. From Superda the country again rises and becomes cultivated, and except at Seereepoor Chinga there are but few traces of the jungle, which once covered the country. The soil, however,

Soil.

is poor, nor do the ryots take any pains to improve it, and the cultivation is worse than it might be owing

Tenure.

to the terms on which the ryots hold their lands. In Pergh. Mulneegopal *pattahs* and cuboolyuts are almost unknown. The lands are let *Hoonda* or *Gorabundy* i.e., at a fixed rate, and any person cultivating pays that rate. Cuboolyuts are sometimes given *en masse*. The ryots will sign one document setting forth the rates of land and agreeing to pay such rates. The consequence of the *Hoondah* system is that the ryot cultivate as much land as he is able to plough, but does not half till it and the crop is generally very meagre. The cold weather crops except mustard and indigo are suffering from want of rain, but I am glad to say, the ryots have suffered comparatively little from the partial failure of the last

rains, as the low land yield an abundant harvest though the crop

The ryots.

on the high lands gave but an indifferent return. The ryots are poor and the

further one goes to the northward, the poorer they appear: their huts are made of reeds, those of the better classes being daubed over with mud, and none but the zemindars enjoy brick built houses.

The main road to the north of the District which I followed

Road.

is good in some parts but requires a great deal of repair in others. From the Gan-

ges to Teeljooga, it is very good: through the low swampy ground near Foolout it is very bad and must be almost impassable during the rains. From Kissengunge to Lohur the road is straight and in very good repair, but after that it gradually gets bad again as far as

Singashur. The whole of Pergh. Nur-

Pergh. Nursingpoor Coorah.

singpoor Coorah was at one time covered with jungle, and is intersected by the beds

of small streams, which overflow during the rains, and planters have been obliged to span them with wooden bridges for the conveyance

Bridges.

of their indigo. These bridges are rough

in their construction but not expensive, being merely beams crossed over piles and planked. The Ferry Fund Committee might take them as a model but it would take more

Ferry Fund Committee.

money than the Ferry Fund have at their credit to put the road into thorough re-

pair. At Phoolaut and across that large plain it would be necessary to raise a bund several feet high with bridges every here and there and the funds of the committee are not sufficient for such work. It is indeed very questionable whether the system of Ferry Fund Committee is not a failure and the money spent a dead loss. All that can be said for them is that Government does not now pocket the money but were the collections from the ferries in Bengal applied for the purpose of making roads throughout the country, one district after another, the money might be much more advantageously expended than it is at present; for the committee never have a sufficient sum at credit to do anything effectually and they are obliged to expend

what they have in making petty repairs. The mofusil roads are in general mere paths but everywhere you see remains of old and substantial roads. On enquiry the same history is told that the natives (Hindoos) have been led to spend little money in making portions of road, trusting to posterity to finish it. Here and there works are met with which are both useful and ornamental. At Kissengunge there is a large three-arched bridge built by a confectioner of the village and which is doubtless very useful in enabling suitors to come to the Moonsiff's court at that place. Since his death the bridge has fallen into disrepair and the zemindar will do nothing to mend it and the confectioner's family is reduced to poverty.

Moonsiff's Court at Kissengunge.

E. F. LANTOUR'S REPORT

I proceeded from Sultangunge to Bheekadeeh, Pergh. Suhroee.

Pergh. Surohee; nature of the land.

The lands of this Pergh. are generally productive, but where they abut Purbatpara, a great deal of land is occupied by rugged rocks, hills and land quite unproductive. When I left Bheekadeeh to visit Mungrar in Pergh. Purbatpara, I travelled through dense jungle; for some miles the country was dreary and very unproductive and the low jungle abounded in bears and tigers.

Cultivation of opium.

The ryots in some villages had prepared their lands for the cultivation of opium and the plant appeared to thrive. Although the nature of the country is admirably adapted for roads, good country roads do not exist. The produce of the country is mort-

Bhojepoori. Golladars.

gaged to Golladars, mostly natives of Bhojepoor, Zillah Arrah, who have spread themselves all over the district. They hold almost all the Ghutwallis of this district in mortgage, and are very enterprising. The ryots of Zillah Bhaugulpore are miserably poor throughout the district but more particularly in the southern pergh.; the introduction of good roads and education into Suhroee will raise the condition of the ryots, who are at present in a very degraded condition. I did not observe a single village school in this Pergh., and was

illiteracy. informed that with the exception of the village accountant few could read or write. The consequence is the lower classes are dependant on their Zemindars whose mofussil omlahs are all powerful. From

Belhur. Mungrar I proceeded to Belhur, a Ghatwallee tenure which is prettily located on the bank of Chundun. There is a good market established here by

Mr. Grant. Mr. Grant, who holds the ghatwallee of Belhur in farm. This gentleman has done much to improve this estate. His house (at Sungrampore) is built in a healthy situation. He will do much to ameliorate the condition of the ryots. He is engaged in the cultivation of indigo, and has done much good in his own immediate neighbourhood. I marched through a very wild and jungly country from Mungrar to Belhur. The jungles are full of wild animals particularly the black bear.

Tigers are said to be numerous. From Belhur I proceeded south to Chundun Kutorreea. The country as far as Liloa Buthan appeared very well-cultivated. But on ascending the Ghats, the face of the country altered very considerably becoming very jungly. A dead pony by the road side recently killed by a tiger confirmed all I heard of the destruction caused by these animals in the Beharo Hills. It is impossible for sportsmen to destroy these animals as the hills are thickly wooded and the caves in the rocks afford them shelter. I have endeavoured to persuade native shikarees to visit the southern parganas, but they will not do so owing to the unhealthiness of the jungle. Chundun Kutorreea is situated on high tableland and I was encamped in a beautiful spot which reminded me of a gentleman's park in England.

The ryots mostly Sountals are miserably poor. The soil is unproductive. Iron is found in these hills. The jungles abound in wild animals so much so that I shot a bear within a mile of the town of Chundun. The Ghutwal of Chundun Kutorreea holds this Ghutwalee on the same terms as the Luchmeepore and Hendwah Ghutwals hold their estates. He pays a small revenue to the Rajah of

Curruckpore. Surwan Singh did not visit my camp. He was reported absent at Bhaugulpore; his son did, but I do not think he has received a very liberal education; I doubt if he can read and write with fluency.

From Chundun Kutorrea I proceeded Jaypoor, a small town, where I found a Bengalee purchasing *kodalis* for Messrs. Nelson & Co., the railway contractors. Iron abounds in these hills, and the iron smelters derive a considerable trade with the Mahajans of the plains who visit Jaypoor in considerable numbers: their trade is carried on principally by barter. Here I found a great variety of traders residing in this town if it can be so called:

Hulwaees	.. .. .	14 houses.
Bengalee	.. .. .	10 „
Kulwar	.. .. .	35 „
Luheree	.. .. .	2 „
Durgee	.. .. .	2 „
Prostitutes	.. .. .	6 „
Barber	.. .. .	5 „
Babhun	.. .. .	8 „
Goala	.. .. .	6 „
Haree	.. .. .	40 „
Culal (Distillers of spirituous liquors)	.. .. .	2 „
Telee	.. .. .	11 „
Kaest	.. .. .	1 „
Soondee	.. .. .	6 „
Mehomedan	.. .. .	4 „
Dhoobe (washerman)	.. .. .	4 „
Buneeah	.. .. .	3 „
Coombar (Kumhar—potter)	.. .. .	4 „
Keonth	.. .. .	16 „
Dome (Scavenger)	.. .. .	15 „
Bhaur (Bhars?)	.. .. .	1 „
Native of Bhojepore	.. .. .	25 „
Kandoo ( ? )	.. .. .	5 „
Dhanook (a caste)	.. .. .	3 „

Rungreje (Dyer)	..	..	..	1	„
Cotton cleaners	..	..	..	3	„
Malee	..	..	..	1	„
Thutheree (Brazier)	..	..	..	16	„
Lohar (Blacksmith)	..	..	..	60	„
Chummar (Leather worker)	..	..	..	3	„
Carpenter	..	..	..	4	„

I was struck with the number of Bhojpoorees residing in these jungles, the natives of Bhojpoor advance money to the poor class of ryots, as well as to Ghutwals and Zemindars and drive a considerable and very lucrative trade charging, I am told, cent per cent. From Jeypoor I proceeded to Nooneehaut passing through the Ghatwalli of Luchmeenarain Deo. The country improved in appearance, the forest abounded in magnificent mango trees. I had lost sight of this tree after leaving Mungrar in Purbutpara. The villages appertaining to this perguna were neat and proved beyond a doubt that the inhabitants were well-to-do in the world. They are principally Talees by caste and natives of Bengal. They export large quantities of oil to the plains of Beerbhoom. Mustard grows luxuriantly in this Ghatwallee. Luchmeenarain Deo, the Ghatwall, is evidently a kind landlord and the state of his Ghatwallee does him great credit. I visited Nooni Haut in 1844 and shot a jungle fowl close to the town. In 1854 I found this jungle cleared and the country by the river side well cultivated. The Ghutwal of Pargana Hendwah paid me a visit. He is a young man and I am afraid he is entirely in the hands of his amlahs. I will do him justice by saying, his ryots appeared contented and prosperous.

There are 56 houses of Bhojpoorees who are engaged in trade and English cloth of different varieties is to be found in their shops. The various castes residing in this village are noted below:

Bearers Bengalee	..	..	..	..	29
Bustum Byrage	..	..	..	..	7
Sonar (goldsmith)	..	..	..	..	25
Washerman	..	..	..	..	5

Bhooean (Bhuinars or Babhans)	.. ..	2
Koeree (Retailers of vegetables)	.. ..	23
Dhanook	.. ..	1
Jolaha (weaver)	.. ..	5
Rajpoot	.. ..	2
Brahman	.. ..	6
Kulwar	.. ..	1
Malee (gardener)	.. ..	2
Bhat	.. ..	1
Bhojepooreah	.. ..	56
Weavers	.. ..	19
Luheree (worker in lac)	.. ..	1
Mahomedan	.. ..	2
Soondée	.. ..	4
Telee	.. ..	3
Khetouree Rajputs	.. ..	8
Halwae	.. ..	2
Coombar (Kumar, retailers of potters ware)	.. ..	1
Tumolee (Tombuli, retailers of betel-leaf)	.. ..	2
Chamar (workers in leather)	.. ..	1
Bimeea (? Baniya ? Dealers in grain, salt, etc.)	.. ..	6
Goalah	.. ..	4
Kuhar (potter)	.. ..	1

Tigers commit frightful destruction not only among cattle but
 among the hill-tribes of this par-
 Tigers. gana: when staying at Nooni Haut
 a poor hill woman was brought in dead and frightfully mangled. She
 had gone to draw water from a small hill stream close to her home
 and had been carried off by a tiger. When I was in England I had
 two tiger guns made on the principle of the spring gun and have
 sent them to Nooni Haut to the Darogah requesting him to use
 them. As I am leaving this District I have requested the
 Officiating Magistrate to look after them, as a smart burkundaz
 might use them with success against these tigers. The native
 shikarees from Purneah will not remain any length of time in these
 jungles as they are sure to catch fever. I have tried to persuade

them to visit Nooni Haut, but have always received one answer, "The jungles are unhealthy and we shall die." From Noonee Haut I proceeded to Peprah, Doomkah, Simlah, Chipteeam, Kudmah and

Jhilmilly in the Damun-i-Koh (where)
 Villages in Damun-i-Koh. a great deal of sickness prevailed, mostly fevers. A native vaccinator, who accom-

panied my camp, vaccinated in the neighbourhood of Doomkah some 300 children of the Sountal tribe. The jungles in the neighbourhood of Simlah are very heavy; the depredation committed by wild elephants are considerable and the Board has been pleased to sanction a reward of Rs. 20 for their destruction. When the railroad is open to Soory, I dare say, an advertisement in the Government Gazette would induce some of the Calcutta sportsmen to attempt at their destruction. At Chipteeam I was engaged in revising one of Mr. Peron's settlement. Mr. Grant, a very respectable gentleman, is the proprietor of this estate, and here I came upon a village school. The schoolmaster

Village School at Chipteeam. was paid four annas a month and Sountal boys attended the school along with the

Bengali boys. Mr. Grant intends encouraging his Sountal ryots and promised to pay for the education of some of the Sountal boys. I observed one Sountal a resident of Chipteeam very neatly dressed and very cleanly in person (an exception to the rule) with a complete set of little instruments for taking out thorns from his feet, in fact this was a complete chatelaine appended to his waist by a silver chain. The inhabitants of Doom-

The inhabitants of Doomkah vary: the different caste are as follows:

Bhojpooree Mahajauns	..	..	..	..	30
Soondee (Dealers in wine)	..	..	..	..	5
Brahmun	..	..	..	..	2
Rajpoot	..	..	..	..	1
Telee (Dealers in oil)	..	..	..	..	4
Goalah (milkman)	..	..	..	..	4
Ghatwal	..	..	..	..	14
Keonth (? Kewats ? fisherman and cultivators)	..	..	..	..	6
Dome (Scavengers)	..	..	..	..	7

Hulwae (Retailers of Sweetmeats)	3
Prostitutes	3
Washerman	1
Byragee Bustum (Bairagi)	2
Baeoree (Bāuri, a tribal caste)	16
Barber	1
Mahomedans	9

Bhojpoorees here predominate and the trade of this part of the country is in their hands: I remember, the numerous robberies committed by men said to be of this caste in the Benares road, and it has since struck me that these robberies were perpetrated by men of this caste residing in these jungles, but this of course is mere conjecture.

I visited Talooqa Dacca and found the villages in a most disgraceful state; there had been frequent disputes (I was given to understand)

between the mortgagor and the mortgagee. From what I saw of the deserted villages and once neat houses now destroyed, convinced me that the police of Doomkah must be

thoroughly inefficient. I enquired if the

Deputy Magistrate of Deoghur ever visited this part of his sub-division and was informed that he did not owing to its insalubrity. Talooqa Dacca has since been sold for arrears of revenue. The Ghatwals, mostly Mal Paharies, are very ignorant: they borrow money from the Bengallis; are made

drunk, and sign bonds for large sums of money which they never received. I was

engaged some little time in making the settlement of Sunkra, and settling a boundary dispute relating to Bhurdaro, and the boundary of the Damun-i-Koh. These disputes arise from the ryots residing on the boundary line (but within the Damun) cultivating lands outside the Damun and refusing to pay rent to the Zemindars. They appeal to Mr. Pontet and the Naeb Sujawul. The Naeb Sujawul reports these men as cultivating lands within the Damun which is the case. Mr. Pontet refers to the survey maps and claims his boundary as laid down in the map and no

Boundary dispute at more. This is the simple history of the boundary dispute which I settled with the assistance of a survey map furnished by Mr. Pontet. At Bhundaro I was called to relieve Mr. Chapman who has been transferred to another department, otherwise I should have visited the Damun-i-Koh and marched across to Rajmehal.

Lantour's inability to visit Dhamun-i-Koh and Rajmehal.

In passing through pargana Godda I was much struck with the improvements effected by Mr. Tuppa Belputta. Fitzpatrick, a gentleman holding that pargana in farm. The lower orders inhabiting Tuppa Belputta are remarkably poor, superstitious to a degree and very ignorant. The country will be much improved by good roads. The face of the country in Pargana Hendwah Belputta is, I imagine, what the Damun was when Mr. Pontet took charge of it seventeen years ago. Mr. Pontet now gets a revenue of Rs. 60,000 and upwards from the Damun. Cultivation has increased enormously and in my opinion, were the ryots of Belputta cared for as in the Damun, the jungles of Belputta would have been cleared away long ago and rendered productive. I observed much cultivation going on among the Paharis in the Damun and from which I could see of that cultivation I should say that the Paharis cultivated hills with care and diligence.

Improvements effected by Pontet.

GEORGE DICKINSON'S REPORT

From Bhaugulpore eastward to Ghaa-us-Khan's tomb, five miles, the road is so good as to require but little repair, but from thence to the 20th mile stone or village Colgong, it runs by the Gogah and Shahzadabad thannas and is so much worn down as to be impassable for 5 or 6 months in the year except to foot passengers, who during those months are in several places obliged to wade through water up to their necks, exclusive of having four nullahs to cross. The dawke is at present of necessity brought more than half way from Colgong by water which (as the boats

State of the roads in the Bhaugulpore District.

that convey it have a strong current to combat), if the wind is not favourable occasions great delay, twelve hours being sometimes required to bring the letters that short distance of 20 miles. In the dry season it has been customary for the zemindars to make temporary bridges across the nullahs of earth, stick and straw, and throw a little loose earth on the hollows in the road, which the first shower washes away.

From the 20th milestone to the 31st or from Colgong to Peallahpore, the road runs over a fine kunkur, through the thanahs of Colgong, Beersye and Peallahpore, and answers for carriage conveyance the whole year—a great caution must however be observed in crossing a nullah near the Beersye thanah during the rains.

From Peallahpore through Telliaghurry Pass to Sicregully, and all the way into Rajmahal the roads are in a wretched state and require great repairs—a few miles (six or seven) here and there excepted which are very good. The dawk hircarrahs, however, contrive with difficulty to travel by land as far as the large cotton trees, a little above Telliaghurry from whence they are obliged to take boat and proceed to Gungapersaud, Sicregully, Mussaw and within one coss of the Rajmehal Singhy Delaun, 30 miles by water—which occasions a very great delay in the arrival of the dawkes. To make the roads from Peallahpore to Mussaw passable in the rainy season will be attended with great expense, as many bridges are necessary, though it may be done without any difficulty: but from Mussaw to Rajmahal all attempts would be vain, for the whole is overflowed by the river. There is, however, an old road made by Sultan Sujah, which strikes off to the right of Mussaw and winds about the base of the hills near Peerpur making a difference of about a coss, which might be rendered excellent by great expense, but three large bridges would be necessary. In the dry season these roads are all passable though even then far from being good. I have myself by sending people on before to fill up holes and mend the temporary bridges, contrived with difficulty to pass them in a bogey, but not without getting out at several places.

From Rajmahal to Balkishen Boug, about three miles, the road

is very good throughout the year, but from thence to Futhypore there is no travelling during the rains; the dawk, therefore, is again conveyed seven miles by water, but the road might be repaired at no very great expense, as there is a ferry at the Gabonah and a puckah bridge over the Oudenullah.

From Futhypore to Gurrimarry, two miles, the roads are very good, but from thence to Furruckabad they are very bad and there are three nullahs to cross: the dawk consequently is forwarded all the way ten miles by water: these roads might be repaired and the dawks expedited thereby as there are ferrys at each nullah. In the dry season, temporary bridges are thrown over the above-mentioned nullahs with earth, sticks and straw by the zemindars which renders them and the roads very passable though by no means good.

From Furruckabad to the opposite bank of Banniah Nullah, four miles, is impassable in the rains and very bad in the dry season, but may be repaired and rendered good for the whole year; the dawk is at present conveyed that distance also by water, where the hercurrah lands and proceeds two miles to Downapore, at which place they are again obliged to take boat as far as Nurrangabad, which is the last dawk chokey under my control; from thence to Sooty, two miles, the roads are very bad and require great repair.

Thus out of 107 miles, the dawk from the badness of the roads, is obliged to be brought 75 miles by water which never makes less than 24 hours difference in its arrival from Sooty only, and sometimes more, the total difference in the arrival of the dawks between the wet and dry seasons from Calcutta being about 52 hours.

From Bhaugulpore westward the road is good for two miles, after which with a very few exceptions, it is greatly in want of repair to the 36th mile or Monghyr, though some care has been taken near the thannahs through which it passes, viz., Chicheroon, Janguirah, Himmutpore, Noahghurry and Aramnughur; from this latter thannah to the Dackerah Nullah, which is a little above Monghyr it is in a very bad state. The puckah bridge which formerly stood across that nullah and was broken down by Cossim Ally Khan has never been repaired. From the 36th milestone to

the 14th, which is a little beyond Soorajegurrah and all the way to the Kewle, the roads do not require so much repair as they are tolerably good. But the passage over the Jagulpoorah nullah is dangerous if not annually mended with strong piles and hard earth.

The road to Tarrapore in the heart of Curruckpore which was in former times kept in good repair has latterly been entirely neglected and is consequently impassable in the rains and scarcely otherwise in the dry season.

The cross road from Peallahpore thannah to Pointy although extremely necessary for the communication between Bhaugulpore and Purneah, is in very great want of amendment which might be easily given to it at a very moderate expense as it is only six miles across over high lands.

The cross road to Darrah and Deoghur is greatly out of repair.



"EARLY SIGNED COINS OF INDIA"

[ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS]

By K. P. Jayaswal

After the publication of the above studies (JBORS, XX. 279-308) I had an opportunity of visiting the British Museum in May, 1935, which I utilized in checking my readings from the original coins of Cunningham and others, now deposited in the British Museum. I have to thank Mr. Allan for the facilities he offered in that behalf. The results are set down here below.

Pre-Mauryan Avanti Coins

The Eran coin alluded to JBORS, XX. 288, has the legend *Dhama-pālasa*. The letters are clear, bold and certain on the coin. It has no *rāño*. What has been read by others as *rāño* is a symbol, probably a svastika.

Early Mauryas and Maurya Subordinates

There is no legend on the coin given in the CAI, II. 14, which cancels footnote 18 at p. 290 of JBORS, XX.

It is now certain that no coin of the earlier Mauryas (earlier than Daśaratha) has full royal name.

Subhagasena

There is no legend on the coin given in CAI, II. 7, on the reverse bottom as formerly supposed (JBORS, XX. 283).

Samprati

Cunningham, CAI, plate II. (Taxila) no. 20, was compared with several other coins having the same symbols but from different dies. The CAI, II. 20 coin which standing by itself does give the appearance of having Kharoshthī letters, is deceptive, being the result of a defective die. A decoration-symbol, like a fleur-de-lis crest, was broken in the die in two parts giving rise to a false appearance of letters; there is in fact no Kharoshthī writing on it. The

other coins of the issue in the British Museum have proved that the Patna Museum coin reproduced by me on my plate 1 as no. 6 (JBORS XX, opposite p. 279) has exactly the same crest or symbol, and no name. On the other hand, the Brāhmī monogram *Mauryya* is certain, and the coin bears undoubted Maurya symbol¹.

Deva Maurya

The reading of the legend on the coin in the CAI, V. 10 [-*ñio Devasa* (not *Su-devasa*)] was confirmed. The reading on the Ayodhyā coin (CAI, IX. 5) was also confirmed by the examination of the coin.

Śāliśūka

The Ayodhyā coins, CAI, IX. 10, belong, as Cunningham had stated, to *Śivadatta*. V. Smith's doubts about the legend (CIM, p. 144) are not justified. These coins do not therefore belong to Śāliśūka (JBORS, XX. 287).

Bṛhaspatimitra's coins countermarked by Khāravēla

In the British Museum there are coins of Bṛhaspatimitra countermarked by a symbol which as Mr. Allan has identified, is identical with the symbol found in the Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravēla, at its end (JBORS, III 472). Mr. Allan, in my opinion, is right in regarding those coins as having been countermarked by Khāravēla.

Uddebika coin and Silver coin of Śuṅgarāja

The Uddebika coin mentioned at p. 303, JBORS, XX, JRAS, 1900, 98, belongs to *Suyamitra*, not Pushyamitra.

A Silver coin of *Sugarāja* similar to the copper coin in shape and size already reproduced in JBORS, XX, p. 294, p. II. 2, has come to the Patna Museum from Kosam. The reverse has no legend. In view of that the footnote at p. 291 of JBORS, XX should be cancelled.

Agnimitra

In the British Museum there is a larger coin of Agnimitra,

¹ The Rampurwa copper bolt of Aśoka (Indian Museum) has the 'moon-on-hill' and hollow cross.

having the shape and symbols of the Patna Museum coin illustrated at plate II, as no. 3 in JBORS, XX. 291, 295.

Odraka

The CAI, V. 6 coin taken by me as of Odraka has not got that name (JBORS, XX. 302). The legend on the coin confirms Cunningham's reading *kāḍasa* i.e. *Saḍakā* (JBORS, XX. 289).

Mūladeva

Cunningham's coin on his Ayodhyā (CAI) plate, IX, no. 4, has the reading *Mūladevasa*, not *Mūlendrakaśa* as I had read from the plate (JBORS, XX. 304). The Purāṇic name *Mulinda*, probably a composition of *Mūla* and *Indra*, may probably be represented by the *Indramitra* of the coins.



Reviews and Notices of Books

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA.—For the First Time Critically Edited
By Vishnu S. Sukthankar. Ādiparvan: Fascicule 7. Vol. 1.
Poona Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute 1933.

Dr. Sukthankar and his collaborators have completed the Ādiparvan. They have appended to it a page of the Śārādā Codex, fol. 147b and a Prolegomena. The latter contains (i) an exhaustive account of extant Mss., (ii) a Pedigree of Ādiparvan versions (pp. xxx-lxxxvi), and an explanation of the method of reconstruction (pp. lxxxvi-cvii).

Whatever opinions may be held as to the real date of the Epic, one fact remains indubitable: a study of the Mahābhārata is indispensable for those who would learn to understand the spirit and culture of Ancient India. Incidentally the poems afford collateral illustration of the style of the Epic era, all the more valuable because emanating from diverse schools and centres of the epic art.

It is *possible* that scholars may entertain doubts concerning Dr. Sukthankar's Archetype in view of there being more than one independent versions like the "Kāśmīrī" recension. We are, however, by no means driven to the necessity of admitting that it must be so, especially in the face of a remarkably uniform and very authentic testimony of great antiquity in favour of the genuineness of at least the principal portions as we now have them. Dr. Sukthankar follows the principle "to accept as original a reading or feature which is documented uniformly by all manuscripts alike (N-S)" (p. lxxxvii). It is a sound principle in all textual reconstruction.

In this collation of Mss., Dr. Sukthankar has performed his task thoroughly throughout the seven fasciculi of the Ādiparvan—a task of great labour and no small difficulty. Several of these Mss. had never, I believe, been collated at all; others more or less inaccurately or incompletely. And the way Dr. Sukthankar

has gone through the voluminous Scholia is truly admirable.

At a time when the ancient epic poems were handed down orally, as the most precious national properties, by professional reciters, the *Sūtas*, or Indian *rhapsodists*,—men, undoubtedly, in the earlier ages, of high genius, and quite capable of appreciating and (even when they added to it) of sustaining the *unity* of a great epic composition—there were likely to exist several more or less local versions or recensions, the collation and adaptation of which occupied the critical skill of the compilers and collectors at a time when all Sanskrit literature was regularly committed to writing.

Dr. Sukthankar tries to restore the pure metal of the epic record, though it has suffered alloy in passing through many crucibles in the hands of the many different workmen. His results are undoubtedly more encouraging than those of all previous and even contemporary attempts, and every student of Indology will eagerly look forward for the subsequent issues.

A. BANERJI—SASTRI.

RIGVEDA BRĀHMANAS: The Aitareya and Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇas of the Ṛgveda Translated from the original Sanskrit By Arthur Berriedale Keith, D.C.L., D.Litt. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1920.

In Chapter XXII of the fifth book of Dr. Francis Rabelais, we read "I saw two Gibroins by themselves, keeping Watch on the top of a Tower, and we were told, they guarded the Moon from the Wolves." Even in a translation of the Ṛgveda Brāhmaṇas, Professor Dr. Keith starts by warning off Messrs. Belyalkar, Jayaswal and Lévi from an approach to Pāṇini (p. x). In pp. 42-3, discussing the relation of the two Brāhmaṇas to Pāṇini, to Yāska, and to Çākalya, he very rightly gives priority to the Brāhmaṇas. But none disputes. So, why tilt at a wind-mill?

The author's conclusions from the absence of reference to Metempsychosis (*ibid.*, p. 44), and from the political references (pp. 44-5)—"The political references do not hint at any great kingdoms, but at a large number of petty princes, who despite their

titles and claims to sovereignty were doubtless rulers of limited portions of territory." (p. 45)—suggests that out of nothing he makes great things, and makes great things return to nothing. It is, however, in his treatment of Language, Style, and Metre, pp. 68-101, the learned Vedic scholar is less than fair to himself. He is disappointingly superficial. Even a comparatively young scholar like Dr. Thieme of Göttingen has appraised the relative importance of such evidence in the Vedas, Brāhmaṇas and the Sūtras in his recent work on *Pāṇini and The Veda* (1935). The material is not new. Even accepting the well-known fact that Professor Keith has always cared more for translating books and writing general histories about them than for painstaking studies of grammar and lexicography in the line of those continental giants, Roth, Boeghtlingk, Wackernagel and Liebich, yet a statement "mere errors of a tradition which allowed almost any irregularity in the sacred text" (p. 71) referring to the so-called irregular forms in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, is truly amazing. Has Dr. Keith forgotten the controversy between Max Müller (*Rigveda*, Second Edition, Vol. 4, pp. clxxxi—clxxxiv) and Peterson (*The Academy*, June 23, 1888) regarding "the occasional necessity he (Max Müller) has felt himself under of deserting all his manuscripts and printing in the text of Sāyaṇa an invention of his own"?

The book of Dr. Keith was published in 1920. The author mentions his indebtedness to the works of Macdonell, Aufrecht Eggeling, Caland, Henry, Hillebrandt, Oldenberg, Whitney and Lanman: but significantly enough, he omits the name of the one scholar who gave us a really reliable translation of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa long before Keith, viz., Martin Haug in 1863. Has Dr. Keith read that translation? Perhaps not. As much of his own translation is frankly unintelligible: "simply twaddle," and what is worse, theological twaddle" to quote the complacent estimate of Max Müller taking the Brāhmaṇas as a whole. Is Keith's translation an illustration of Max Müller's dictum? Otherwise, what to make of translation like this—"The libation of the omentum is a libation of ambrosia; These are the incorporeal libations:" (p. 144). As a matter of fact, my post-graduate and research students have recently drawn my attention

to these oddities as I asked them to make use of the book. I have had to ask them to fall back upon Haug.

To Dr. Keith may be recommended the example of William Jones who as a young Oxonian in 1771 said—‘Sied-il à un homme né dans ce siècle de s’infatuer de fables indiennes?’, yet lived to be the founder of the Royal Asiatic Society. Dr. Keith may still profit by the wise words of Dr. Haug—“...the explanation of sacrificial terms by scholars unaided by oral information from those especially trained for the sacrificial profession from times immemorial...is bound to be a failure” (*ibid.*, Preface). A minute study of the actual operations of the sacrificial priests is essentially necessary for a proper comprehension of the Brāhmanas. Such a study is not apparent in Dr. Keith’s Translation.

There is a marked falling-off in the performance.

A. BANERJĪ—SĀSTRĪ.



Notes of the Quarter

Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held in the Society's Office on Sunday, August 4, 1935.

Present:

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal (in the chair)

Mr. Sham Bahadur.

Mr. G. E. Fawcus.

Dr. A. P. Banerji Sastri.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Fazl Ali.

Mr. J. L. Hill.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on March 3, 1935.
2. Elected Mr. S. N. Sahay, Barrister-at-Law, a member of the Society.
3. Passed the monthly accounts from February to June, 1935.
4. Passed the annual statement of accounts for the year 1934-35.
5. Passed the revised budget for the year 1935-36, and the budget estimate for the year 1936-37.
6. Placed the Archaeological Department, Cochin State, on the Society's exchange list.
Resolved that the Council regrets its inability to place Śrī Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara, Arrah, on the Society's exchange list.
7. Sanctioned payment of the following bills:—

Calcutta Oriental Press

	Rs.	a.	p.
1. Bill No. 4042, dated May 8, 1935	234	0	0
2. Bill No. 3099, dated January 22, 1935..	480	0	0

Allahabad Law Journal Press

	Rs.	a.	p.
3. Invoice No. 119, dated April 27, 1935 . .	290	5	6
4. Invoice No. 24, dated April 24, 1935 . .	3	0	0
5. Invoice No. 19, dated April 20, 1935 . .	0	12	0

Indian Photo Engraving Co.

6. Bill No. 8071, dated April 30, 1935 . . 28 3 0
8. Read and recorded a letter, dated April 10, 1935 from the Rev. H. Heras, S. J.
9. Read a letter, dated May 12, 1935, from Professor J. Ph. Vogel, Kern Institute, Leyden.
Resolved that Dr. Bernet Kempers be cordially invited to deliver a lecture under the auspices of the Society during his stay in Patna.
10. Read a circular letter, dated February 20, 1935, from the local Secretary, 8th All-India Oriental Conference Mysore.
Resolved that Mr. K. P. Jayaswal and Mr. Sham Bahadur be asked to represent the Society at this Conference.
11. Read and recorded a letter, dated May 31, 1935, from Professor C. R. Lanman.
Resolved that the relevant passages be communicated to Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna Jalan.
Resolved further that the Educational Commissioner be asked to send Professor Lanman a list of suitable recipients for Geldner's Translation of the Rigveda.
12. Read letter No. 3011-19-E, from the Ministry of Education, Bihar and Orissa.
Resolved that the Society does not require the books on American History and Ethnography mentioned in the letter from the Director, International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.
13. Resolved that the Society's thanks be conveyed to Messrs. K. K. Dutta and J. N. Sarkar for their excellent work in editing Buchanan's Shahabad Report.

J. L. HILL

Honorary General Secretary

**List of members of the Bihar and Orissa
Research Society on 31st December, 1934**

Honorary Members

No.	Name of member	Year of election	Address
1	2	3	4
1	Foucher, Monsieur A.	1919	Professor, University of Paris, Paris.
2	Frazer, Sir James G., D.C.L., LL.D., LITT.D.	1916	Trinity College, Cambridge, England.
3	Gait, Sir E. A., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., PH.D., I.C.S. (Retd.).	1920	The Croft, Park Hill, Ealing, London.
4	Grierson, Sir George, K.C.I.E., PH.D., D.LITT., I.C.S. (Retd.)	1916	Rath Farnham, Camberly, Surrey, England.
5	Haddon, Alfred C., M.A., SC.D., F. R. S.	1916	3, Cranmer Road, Cambridge.
6	Jacobi, Dr. Hermann ..	1925	Professor of Sanskrit, University of Bonn, Bonn, Germany.
7	Konow, Dr. Sten ..	1920	Ethnographic Museum, Oslo, Norway.
8	Levi, M. Sylvain ..	1919	Professor of Sanskrit, University of Strasbourg, Strasbourg.
9	Oldham, C.E.A.W., C.S.I., I.C.S. (Retd.).	1926	21, Courtfield Road, London, S.W. 7.
10	Sankrityayana, Rev. Rahul	1934	Patna.
11	Thomas, F.W., M.A., Hon. PH.D., F.R.S.	1919	Boden Professor of Sanskrit, University of Oxford.
12	Walsh, E.H.C., C.S.I., I.C.S. (Retd.).	1919	c/o Lloyds Bank Ltd., Cox's & King's Branch, 6, Pall Mall, London, S.W.

Life Members

No.	Name of member	Year of election	Address
1	2	3	4
1	Das, Mr. P.R., Bar-at-Law.	1918	Patna.
2	Deo, Raja Dharnidhar Indra.	1917	Feudatory Chief of Bonai State, P. O., Bonaigarh (Orissa).
3	Deo, Raja Narayana Prasad.	1929	Ruling Chief of Baudh State.
4	Jalan, Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna.	1918	Patna City.
5	Lall, Babu Hira ..	1933	Huthwa.
6	Maharaja Bahadur Guru Mahadeva Asram Prasad Sahi.	1920	Hathwa (Saran).
7	Prasad, Mr. Ajit, M.A., L.L.B.	1928	Advocate, Lucknow.
8	Raja Bahadur Sir, R. N. Bhanja Deo, Kt., O. B.E.	1918	Kanika (Orissa).
9	Shah, Mr. Hiralal Amritlal.	1918	Princess Street, Champai Buildings, 2nd floor, Bombay.
10	Shahi, Lieut. Madhava-swarendra.	1924	Manjha, District Saran.
11	Singh, Raja Raghunandan Prasad.	1924	Monghyr.
12	Singh, Rai Bahadur Harihar Prasad.	1916	Arrah.
13	Singh, Raja Radhikarman Prasad, M.A.	1916	Surajpura (Shahabad).
14	Sinha, Mr. Mahendra Prasad.	1928	Sub-Deputy Collector, Chapra.

Ordinary Members

No.	Name of member	Year of election	Address
1	2	3	4
	A		
1	Acharya, P., B.Sc. ..	1928	Senior Archaeological Scholar, Mayurbhanj State.
2	Agarwala, Vasudeva Sharan, M.A., LL.B.	1932	Curator, Curzon Museum, Muttra.
3	Ahmad, Hafiz Shamsuddin, M.A.	1927	Patna College, Patna.
4	Aiyangar, R. B. Dr. Krishnaswami, M.A., PH.D.	1916	43, Brodies Road, Mylapore, Madras.
5	Aiyangar, R. B. K. V. Rangaswami.	1915	Hindu University, Benares.
6	Armour, Prof. J. S., M.A.	1926	G. B. B. College, Muzaffarpur.
7	Altekar, A. S., M.A., D. Litt.	1933	Benares Hindu University.
	B		
8	Bakhle, Vidyasagara Sadasiva, M.A., LL.B.	1932	Advocate, 276 Yadava Gopal Peth, Satara City.
9	Banerji, S.	1933	Headmaster, Saharanpur.
10	Barhut, Sardar Thakur Kishore Singh.	1932	State Historian, Patiala.
11	Batheja, Prof. H. R., M.A., I.E.S.	1920	Ravenshaw College, Cuttack.
12	Bhandarkar, Dr. D. R.	1924	35, Ballygunge, Circular Road, Calcutta.
13	Bhargava, Major M.L., I.M.S.	1934	Military Hospital, Fort Sandeman, Beluchistan.
14	B h a t t a c h a r y a, Benoytosh	1924	Director, Oriental Institute, Kothi Buildings, Baroda.

Ordinary Members —(Continued)

No.	Name of member	Year of election	Address
1	2	3	4
15	Bhide, H. B.	1918	Dewanpur Road, Nava-park, Bhawanagar.
16	Bodding, Rev. P.O. ..	1918	Mohulpahari, Santal Parganas.
C			
17	Carr, Paul Roland . . .	1928	3923, Packard Street, Long Island City, N. Y., U.S.A.
18	Chakladar, Haran Chandra M.A.	1916	28-4, Sri Mohan Lane, Kalighat, Calcutta.
19	Chaube, Ram Kumar ..	1931	Azmatgarh Palace, Benares.
20	Chaudhuri, G. K. ..	1928	Ballipur P. O., Darbhanga.
21	Chaudhuri, P., I.C.S. ..	1931	Dist. & Sessions Judge, Purnea.
22	Christian, H. D. ..	1920	Superintendent, Gangpur State, Orissa.
23	Coomaraswamy, Dr. Anand K. .	1923	Museum, of Fine Arts, Boston Mass. U. S. A.
D			
24	Das, Kali Prasad ..	1929	Barh, District Patna.
25	Das, Kashinath, M.A. ..	1925	Ravenshaw College, Cuttack.
26	Datta, Kalikinkar, M.A.	..	Lecturer, Patna College, Patna.
27	Deo, Maharaja Sir Bir Mitrodaya Singh Bahadur, K.C.I.E.	1920	The Palace, Sonapur.
28	Deo, Tekait Nripendra Narayan Singh.	1928	Seraikela State, Singhbhum.
29	Deshpande, R. S. G. K.	1927	Bishramdham, Gymkhana P. O. Poona.
30	Dhruva, A. B., M.A. ..	..	Principal, Hindu University Benares.

Ordinary Members—(Continued)

No.	Name of members	Year of election	Address
1	2	3	4
	E		
	Nil.		
	F		
31	Fawcus, G.E., M.A., C.I.E., O.B.E.	1916	Director of Public Instruction, Patna.
	G		
32	Ghosh, Adhar Chandra, B.Sc.	1927	Assistant Curator, Patna Museum, Patna
33	Ghosh, Rai Sahib Manoranjan, M.A.	1918	Curator, Patna Museum, Patna.
34	Gupta, Shiva Prasad	1918	Seva Upavana, Kasi.
	H		
35	Heras, Rev. H., S. J., M.A.	1927	St. Xavier's College, Bombay.
36	Hill, J. L., M.A. ..	1930	Patna College, Patna.
	I		
	Nil.		
	J		
37	Jagadeb, Sri Sri Sri Gopinath Harichandan, Raja Bahadur, M.R.A.S., M.B.D.M.	1924	P. O. Tekkali, Ganjam.
38	Jagadeb, Sir Sir Sir Lakshminarayana Harichandan, Raja Bahadur.	1929	Ditto.

Ordinary Members—(Continued)

No.	Name of member	Year of election	Address
1	2	3	4
39	James, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W., I.C.S.	1923	High Court, Patna.
40	Jaruhar, Rameshwar Prasad.	1925	Kadamkuan, Patna.
41	Jayaswal, K. P., M.A. Barrister-at-Law.	1915	Advocate, Patna High Court.
42	Jha, Andh Bihari, M.A.	1933	Sub-Deputy Magistrate Dinapore.
43	Jha. Lakshmikant, B.L.	1925	Advocate, High Court, Patna.
44	Jha, Ramakrishna, B.L.	1930	Advocate, High Court, Patna.
45	Jinjal, Srinarayan Lal, B.A., B.L.	1928	Dhanni Tola, advocate, Gaya.
46	Johnson, Joh.	1934	Missionary Treasurer, P. O. Dumka.
K			
47	Khan Bahadur Syd. Muhammad Ismail.	1928	Patna City.
48	Khanna, Vinayak Lal ..	1924	Hindu Library, 3, Nandlal Malik's Lane, Calcutta.
49	Kimura, R.	1920	Rissho University, Osaki Machi, Tokyo, Japan.
50	Kuraishi, Muhammad Hamid, B.A.	1923	Superintendent of Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.
51	Lakhani, Ibrahim Wali Mohamad, B.A.	1934	Watson Museum, Rajkot.
L			
52	Lall, Raja P.C.	1924	Raja of Nazarganj, Purnea City.

Ordinary Members—(Continued)

No.	Name of member	Year of election	Address
1	2	3	4
53	Lambert, H., M.A., I.E.S.	1920	c/o Lloyd's Bank, Cox's & King's Branch, 6 Pall Mall London, S. W.
54	Law, Dr. Narendra Nath, M.A., B.L., PH.D.	1924	96, Amherst Street, Calcutta.
	M		
55	Mackenzie, W. ..	1916	Superintendent, Government Printing, Gulzarbagh, Patna.
56	Macpherson, Hon'ble Justice, Sir T. S., C.I.E., I.C.S.	1916	Patna.
57	McPherson, Sir H., K.C. I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S. (Retd.)	1915	c/o Messrs. Grindlay & Co., Ltd., 54, Parliament Street, London, S.W.I.
58	Mahapatra, Chaudhuri Bhagvat Prasad Samantarat.	1924	P. O. Bhadrak, Balasore.
59	Mahashaya, Rai Bahadur Harendra Narayan Ray.	1915	Lakshannath, Balasore.
60	Mahatha, Rai Bahadur Krishna Deva Narayan.	1920	Muzaffarpur.
61	Majumdar, Bimanbehari	1927	B. N. College, Patna.
62	Majumdar, Dr. R. C.	1920	Dacca University, Dacca.
63	Malaviya, Pandit Balagovinda.	1924	Patna City.
64	Manuk, P. C., Bar-at-Law ..	1920	Advocate, High Court, Patna.
65	Mehta, N. C., I.C.S. ..	1927	Muzaffernagar.

Ordinary Members—(Continued)

No.	Name of member	Year of election	Address
1	2	3	4
66	Miller, Sir F. Dawson, Kt.	1919	11, King's Bench Walk Temple, E.C., London.
67	Mishra, Pandit Janardan, M.A.	1927	B. N. College, Patna.
68	Mishra, Ganga Shankar, M.A.	1933	Librarian, Benares Hindu University.
69	Misra, Umesa, D.LITT.		Allahabad University, Allahabad.
70	Mitra, K.P., M.A., B.L.	1920	D. J. College, Monghyr.
71	Mukerji, Prof. A.	1929	10, Bol. Guozdnikovsky, Apt. 202X, Moscow.
N			
72	Nagar, Madan Mohan, M.A.	1933	Curator, Sarnath Museum, Benares.
73	Nahar, Puranchand, M.A. B.L.	1917	1/8, Indian Street, Calcutta.
74	Noor, Hon'ble Justice K. B. Khwaja Muhammad.	1915	Patna.
O			
Nil.			
P			
75	Pantulu Garu Srinivas Rao M.A., L.T., M.B.R.Y.	1928	Principal Hindu College, Masulipatam.
76	Pantulu, J. Ramayya, B.A., B.L.	1915	Mukteswaram, Tottarmundi P.O. Godavari District.
77	Perier, Most Rev. F.J., S.J.	1915	Archbishop of Calcutta, 32, Park Street, Calcutta.

Ordinary Members—(Continued)

No.	Name of member	Year of election	Address
1	2	3	4
78	Prasad, Biswanath, M.A.,	1928	Professor, T. N. J. College, Bhagalpur.
79	Prasad, Krishnadeva, M.A., B.L.	1929	Langertoli, Patna.
80	Prasad, Mahabir, B.L. . .	1926	Pleader, Chapra.
81	Prasad, Nageswar, M.A., B.L.	1928	Advocate, Patna.
82	Prasad, Surya Mahajan.	1918	Manulal Library, Gaya.
	Q		
	Nil.		
	R		
83	Rajaguru, Hemraj Pandit.	1934	Dhokatola, Kathmandu, Nepal.
84	Ramdas, G., B.A.	1924	Sri Ramachandra Vilas, Jeypur, Vizagapatam.
85	Ranganathan, S. R.	1927	Librarian, Madras University, Madras.
86	Ray, Rai Bahadur Chuni Lal	1915	Diwan, Bonaigarh State, Bonaigarh P.O., Orissa.
87	Roy, Rai Bahadur S.C. M.A., B.L., M.L.C.	1915	Ranchi.
88	Richards, F. J. . .	1924	1A Collingham Road, S. W. 5, London.
89	Rohatgi, Binayakrishna	1925	Dhaulpura Kothi, Begampur, Patna City.
	S		
90	Sahay, Shyamnandan, B.A.	1928	Sahay Bhavan, Muzaffarpur.
91	Sarkar Ganapati . .	1926	69, Beliaghata Road, Calcutta.

Ordinary Members—(Continued)

No.	Name of member	Year of election	Address
I	2	3	4
92	Sarkar, Jadunath, M.A., I.E.S., (Retd.), C.I.E.	1915	Sarkaravas, Darjeeling.
93	Sarkar, Dr. Submal C.	1930	Professor of History, Patna College, Patna.
94	Sen, D. N., M.A., I.E.S. (Retd.)	1916	Patna.
95	Seppings, E. H. L.	1916	Innes Road, P.O. Kem- mendine, Rangoon.
96	Sham Bahadur	1928	Bar-at-Law, Patna.
97	Sharma, Ram Bahadur, M.A.	1934	Advocate, Patna.
98	Sharma, Sri Ram, M.A.	1932	D. A. V. College, La- hore.
99	Shastri, Dr. A. Banerji, M.A., PH.D.	1923	Patna College, Patna.
100	Shastri, Dr. Harichand, D.LITT., I.E.S.	1918	Principal, T. N. J. Col- lege, Bhagalpur.
101	Shastri I. D. Durgadatti	1920	Superintendent, Sanskrit Association, Patna.
102	Shaw, Parmanand	1926	Daldary Bazar, Dina- pore Cantt.
103	Singh, Jaikishore Nara- yan	1934	Pakri State, P.O. Baj- patti, Muzafferpur.
104	Singh, Lakhsminarayan	1933	Advocate, High Court, Patna.
105	Singh, Rai Brajabihari Saran, M.A., B.L.	1915	Asst. Registrar, Co- operative Societies, Monghyr.
106	Singh, Raja Harihar Pra- sad Narayan	1916	Amawan, District Patna
107	Singh, Raja Bahadur Kirtyanand.	1915	Banaili, Purnea.
108	Singh, Raja Rajendralala, Bariha.	1916	Barsambar, Padampur, Sambalpur.
109	Singh R. B. Ramranavi- jaya	1924	K. V. Press, Patna.
110	Singh, Sarangadhar M.A. B.L.	1925	Ditto.

Ordinary Members—(Continued)

No.	Name of member	Year of election	Address
1	2	3	4
111	Sinha, Mahendraki-shore, B.A., B.L.	1926	Bhaimsa, Dist. Nanded, Hyderabad, Deccan.
112	Sinha, Paras Nath, B.A., LL.B.	1930	Hindustan Times, Delhi
113	Sinha, S., Bar-at-Law	1915	Patna.
114	Sullivan, The Rt. Rev. Dr. S. J.	1929	Lord Bishop, Patna.
115	Surya Narayan, B.L.	1924	Translator, High Court, Patna.
116	Svarup, Rai Bahadur Bishun	1920	Mahalla Maithan, Agra.
T			
117	Tandan, R. R., M.A.	1934	Muzafferpur.
118	Tarafdar, Rev. S. K.	1915	Principal, C. M. S. High School, Bhagalpur.
119	Taraporewala, Y. J.	1930	Professor of History, Patna College, Patna.
120	Terrell, The Hon'ble Sir Courtney, K.T.	1928	Chief Justice, High Court, Patna.
121	Thakur, Sivanandan, M.A.	1932	High School, Patna.
122	Tirtha Swami, Vedananda	1933	P. O. DHINGA, Dist. Gujarat, Punjab.
123	Tripathi, Devadatta	1916	Kadam Kuan, Patuli.
124	Tripathi, Ramshankar, M.A., PH.D.	1932	Benares Hindu University.
U			
125	Urdhwaseshi, W. G., M.A.	1925	25, Krishnapura, Indore C.I.
126	Urghart, Rev. Dr. W. S., M.A., D.D., D.LITT. 1934 Principal, Scottish churches College, Calcutta.	1934	Principal, Scottish Churches College, Calcutta.

Ordinary Members—(Concluded)

No.	Name of member	Year of election	Address
1	2	3	4
	V		
127	Varma, Hon'ble Justice Mr. S. P.	1930	Patna.
128	Vidyalankar, Jaya Chandra	1929	Daraganj, Allahabad.
129	Vogel, Dr. J., PH.D.	1920	Noordeindsplein, 40 Leiden, Holland.



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[PART IV

Leading Articles

REPORT OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL WORK IN 1934-35 THE MIGRATIONS OF THE KHĀRIĀS

By RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA ROY, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

During the year 1934-35, besides continuing my ethnographical investigations among the Korwas and the Asurs and the ethnology of some other tribes and castes of Chōṭā-Nāgpur, and the Archæology of the Chōṭā-Nāgpur Division, I have been preparing for the press a monograph on the Khāriās who form one of the three principal tribes of Chōṭā-Nāgpur, the other two being the Mūṇḍās and Orāons.

Although Chōṭā-Nāgpur is the principal stronghold of the tribe there is a fairly large population of Khāriās in Orissā and the Central Provinces as well. In the last (1931) Census, the Khāriā population of Chōṭā-Nāgpur was found to be 85,360; of Orissā, 51,806; and of the Central Provinces, 13,266. In Chōṭā-Nāgpur the Khāriās are found in the Rānchi (75,083), Singhbhum (5,879) and Mānbhum (4,398) districts. In Orissā they are found in the Sambalpur District (1,884), in the Gāngpur State (36,656), Mayurbhanj State (11,573), the Bāmra State (1,996), the Dhenkanāl State (1,349), and in other States (1,793). In

the Central Provinces they are found in the Jāshpur State (4,148), the Rāi-Garh State (4,192), the Bilāspur District (1,444), the Rāipur District (1,026), the Sarnagarh State (856), the Chhindwārā District (648), the Udaipur State (471), the Surguja State (241), the Sakti State (109), the Drug District (124), the Kerā State (3), the Seoni District (3), and the Jubbalpur District (1).

Thus, leaving out of account the considerable but fluctuating immigrant Khārīā population in Assam and its neighbouring Bengal District of Jalpāiguri, and the Hinduized off-shoot of the tribe who strayed generations ago into the highlands of the Bankura District in West Bengal and the southern borders of the Bengal District of Midnapore, the permanent habitat of the Khārīā tribe now extends from the central hill-ranges of the Mayurbhanj State of Orissā in the South-east and the hills of the Singhbhum and Mānbhum Districts to the north of Mayurbhanj, through the hills and plateaus of the Rānchi and Sambalpur Districts and fourteen out of the twenty-four Feudatory States of Orissā, and the adjoining Central Provinces States of Jāshpur, Udaipur, Rāigarh, Sakti, and Sarnagarh in the middle, to as far west as the Bilāspur, Rāipur, Durg, and Chhindwārā Districts of the Central Provinces. This wide area lies roughly between 20° and 23° North Latitude and 79° and 87° East Longitude.

In the extreme east of this wide area dwell the Hill Khārīās, the most primitive section of the tribe; in the middle the Dūdh Khārīās, the comparatively most advanced section of the tribe, and in the west the Dhelki Khārīās who stand midway, in point of culture, between the other two sections.

Now the question naturally arises what was the original habitat and centre of dispersion of the tribe?

ORIGIN AND MIGRATIONS OF THE KHĀRĪĀS

As for the origin of the tribal name 'Khārīā' nothing can be said for certain. Mr. Russel's collaborator in the preparation of *The Castes and Tribes of the Central Provinces*, Rai Bahadur Hiralal, suggests its derivation from *Khārīā*, a palanquin or litter. He states that in the Orīyā country, Orāons, who carry litters, are also called Khārīās and that this derivation is in accordance with

the traditions of the Khāriās that their first ancestors carried a *banghy*, and with the fact that the Kols are the best professional *dooli-bearers*. This derivation, however, appears to me to be far-fetched and not very probable. In Chōṭā-Nāgpur which is the principal centre of the Dūdh Khāriās, these people hold a fairly high position and are not generally employed as palanquin-bearers. In Orissā the Bāuris and the Kōṛās or Kōṛā-Matias have the 'bānghy' (carrying-pole) for their *santak* or emblem but the Khāriās of Mayurbhanj have the sword (*kbāṇḍā*) for their *santak* or emblem. It appears more probable that the name Khāriā is a variant of the name 'Hōrō' (man) adopted by the Mūṇḍā as their tribal name, 'Hō' or 'Hōṛ' adopted by the Hōs, 'Kōṛ-Ku' adopted by the Kōṛkus, and 'Kōṛwā' adopted by another branch of the Mūṇḍā race. Against this derivation it may be said that in the Khāriā language the word for 'man' is not a derivative of the same root from which the words 'Hōṛ', 'Hōṛō', 'Kōṛwā' and 'Kōṛku' are derived. It may however be pointed out that although the general term for man is 'lebu',—when 'man' as distinguished from 'woman' is meant, the Khāriā uses the term "Kodpura".

As for the original habitat of the Khāriās, their division into the three principal sections, and the past migrations of these different sections we have to depend only on vague tribal traditions. But so far as the Hill Khāriās are concerned even the obscure light of tradition with regard to their former migrations is lacking. For, their only tradition of origin represents them as autochthones of the Mayurbhanj Hills. The Dhelkī Khāriās and the Dūdh Khāriās possess traditions somewhat definite, though rather of a general nature, regarding their past wanderings. From these traditions interpreted in the light of the present distribution of the tribe and other available evidence, we may form a more or less probable conjecture of the alternative courses, one or other of which their former migrations might have taken.

The Hill Khāriā tradition which was recounted to me by several

Hill Khāriā tradition of
origin.

Khāriās of the Mayurbhanj State (such as
Karicharan Dihuri of Kanchhinda,
Panchu Dehuri of Kusumbandha), is as

follows:—God created first the sky and the earth and then a pea-

fowl. The bird laid an egg. It burst. And from the shell of the egg issued the first Khārīā, from the white of the egg the first Purān (now a Hinduised caste of Mayurbhanj, probably a section of the Bhūinyās with whom Risley identifies them), and from the yellow of the egg the ancestor of the ruling Bhanj family of Mayurbhanj. This is said to have happened at a place called Adipur in the present Bamanghati Sub-division of the State, and the first ancestor of the Khārīās is said to have been named Ādi-Khārīā. It is interesting to note that according to the tradition of the Mayurbhanj Rāj family, Ādi Singh was the name of the first Bhanj Rājā of the Mayurbhanj State. Some Hinduised Khārīās add that of the descendants of Ādi-Khārīā, Gandharb-Khārīā settled at Rairangpur (the present head-quarters of the Bāmanghati sub-division of the Mayurbhanj State), Bidh Khārīā settled at Lohāgarh, Hari Khārīā at Haripurgarh, and Basu Khārīā at Jashipur (formerly known as Dāspur). The Khārīās of the Similipal Hills, they say, are the descendants of Basu Savar. This Savar is represented by Hindu traditions as a devotee of the God Śrī Krishna. The tradition goes that a Brāhmaṇa named Bidyapati whom Rājā Indra-Dumnya, King of Mālwa, had sent out in search of the God Vishnu or Śrī Krishna found Basu Savar secretly worshipping the deity in the jungle of Nilāchal (on the site on which the present temple of Jagarnāth at Puri stands) in the form of a blue-stone image. This Brāhmaṇa won the confidence of Basu Savar, became enamoured of the daughter of Basu Savar and married her. The name *Basu* has been since further Aryanized into Viswa-Basu.

Some Khārīā families of Mayurbhanj who have acquired the title of *Pāṭbandhā* because they possess the privilege of placing a silk cloth (*pāṭ*) over the *Rāthā* (or wooden car) of the God Śrī Krishna or Jagarnāth on the occasion of the Rāthā Jātrā or Car-festival celebrated by the Rājā of Mayurbhanj at his capital, also call themselves Brāhmaṇ Khārīās. Some have further improved upon this legend. One Kashinath Pāṭbandhā of village Darkhuli (a village about 5 miles to the north-west of the Raja's capital at Baripādā) gave the following improved version of the legend: "The first Bhanj Rājā came out of the yolk of the egg of the peahen, from its white came out the ancestor of the Purāns, from

the membranes (*Uri*) sprang the ancestor of the *Uṛiyās* or *Oṛiyās*, and from the shell sprang the first ancestor of the *Khāriās*. This is why the *Khāriās* do not kill the peacock nor eat its meat. We *Pāṭbandhā Khāriās* are *Brāhmaṇ Khāriās*. There are only 20 families of *Brāhmaṇ Khāriās* in the Mayurbhanj State and 20 families in the Dhalbhum." I could not however trace out these *Pāṭbandhā Khāriās* in Dhalbhum. It may be mentioned that during the Car-festival (*Ratha Jātrā*) and the bathing festival (*Snān Jātrā*) of the deity *Jagannāth* at Puri, the reputed descendants of *Basu* the *Savar* have the privilege of touching the image and, in fact, act as the custodians of the deity and the Car for the occasion. These *Savars* attached to the Puri Temple are called "*Daitas*". This term '*Daita*', it need hardly be noted, is an abbreviation of '*Daitya*' which is an appellation applied to the aborigines of India in ancient Sanskrit writings.

It appears likely that in this *Khāriā* tradition of origin from an egg some ancient origin-myth of the tribe has been mixed up with later Hindu traditions about *Sri Krishna* and *Basu Savara*. The myth about the origin of the tribe from one or more eggs is also found among the allied tribe of the *Sāntāls*. According to *Sāntāl* traditions a goose and a gander were the first living beings created by God (*Ṭhākur Jiu*); the goose laid two eggs, out of which was hatched the first human pair who became the progenitors of the *Sāntāls*.

The way in which accretions are gradually made to the original nucleus of an ancient tradition will be seen from the following legend given by a man of the now Hindu caste of *Purāns*, named *Jateya Nayak* of village *Kādropāni* in the *Sadar* Sub-division of *Mayurbhanj*. His account was as follows:—

"The Semen of *Bhagwān* (God) fell on earth and it took the form of a pea-fowl's egg. By *Bhagwān*'s command the egg was taken care of by the ancient Hindu *Rishi* (holy sage) *Vasiṣṭha*. In due time the ancestor of the *Bhanja* Kings issued from the yolk, the ancestor of the *Purāṇ* people from its white, the ancestor of the *Jarā Savara* from the *jāl* or membraneous coating of the egg, and from the shell the *Brāhmaṇ Khāriās*. The present descendants of the *Jarā Savara* are the *Brāhmaṇ Khāriās*—whose descendants have

the privilege of placing the silken cloth or net over the secret car (Ratha) of Jagarnāth at the Ratha-Jātrā festival at the capital of Mayurbhanj, and the 'Daitas' or 'Daita-patis' of Puri who take a principal part in the Rath-Jātrā festival there. It may be noted in this connection that according to Sir George Grierson the Khārīā dialect is more closely allied to Savara than to any other Munda dialect, and has some similarity to Kurku and Juang.

The legend of the autochthonous origin of the Hill Khārīās of Mayurbhanj would thus appear to have been probably developed out of an old legend of the tribe which has since been given a local value by this section of the tribe.

Some old Hill Khārīās living on the Dhalbhum hills gave me the names of their first ancestor and ancestress as *Sabbar-Burba* and *Sabbar-Burbi*. This would appear to indicate that the Khārīās originally formed a branch of the great Savar people. The tradition of the Mayurbhanj Khārīās that they are the descendants of Basu Savar lends supports to this conjecture. General Cunningham points out that the Munda-speaking Santals are called Savaras by their Dravidian-speaking neighbours—the Mal Paharis—and he concludes a long chapter on the Savaras as follows:—

"My conclusion is that, in early times where the name of the Savara is used, it probably covers all the different divisions of the 'Kols', (that is to say, all the Munda tribes) as they are now called", who, in early Aryan times, spread far and wide over the Central Hill Belt of India. The Present writer, in his work on *the Mundas and their Country* and Mr. B. C. Mazumdar in the *Aborigines of the Highlands of Central India*, have also adopted the same view. Mr. Tarak Nath Das at p. 23 of his little monograph entitled *The Wild-Kharias of Dhalbhum* (Calcutta University, 1931), describes the tribe as—"The Kharias or Chhabbars as they call themselves". Evidently he did not realise the fact that the name that he heard pronounced as "Chhabbars" was really "Sabbar" or "Sabara". And if he had pursued his enquiry further he would possibly have come upon the legend of the origin of the tribe from 'Sabbar-Burhā' and 'Sabbar-Burhi' (or an old Savara couple).

The Hill Khārīās like the present Savar tribe of Orissā have no language of their own but have adopted the language of their

neighbours—namely Oṛiyā in Mayurbhanj and other Oṛissā States and Bengali in Singhbhum (Dhalbhum) and Mānbhum. But even these Hill Khāriās in Bengali-speaking areas still retain some Oṛiyā words in their vocabulary, thereby indicating their migration from Oṛissā, and thus supporting the tradition of Mayurbhanj being their centre of dispersion. Thus I found that the Oṛiyā words 'Māipō' for wife, 'Niā' for fire, 'Pej' (gruel) for boiled rice are still used by some of these Khāriās in the Dhalbhum hills; and like the Oṛiyās, they sometimes add the Oṛiyā suffix 'boonoo' to some common names. Thus they say 'shāp-boonoo' for the snake and 'māch-boonoo' for 'fish'. And it is significant that the use of these Oṛiyā words and suffix are also in vogue among the Khāriās of the purely Bengali-speaking district of Manbhum.

From the facts that the Hill Khāriās have forgotten their own language and that their social customs and institutions are far more primitive than those of the other sections of the Khāriās, it may be inferred that the former separated from the latter long, long ago. It must have taken the other sections of the Khāriās several long centuries to rise to their present stage of culture, from the much lower level of primitive culture in which the Hill Khāriās are still found. Even if we suppose the Hill Khāriās to be a degenerate branch of the Khāriās it must have taken a very long time to produce the wide difference that now exists between the two levels of culture.

In the last legend of origin cited above, Jarā Savara is said to be the ancestor of the Hinduised section of the Hill Khāriās who are assigned a part in the ceremonies connected with the Rath Jātrā celebrations in Mayurbhanj and therefore style themselves as Brāhmaṇ Khāriās. Now the Savaras of the Ganjam district in Madras are divided into six sections (*Sudda*, *Sannapania*, *Mela*, *Lodoro*, *Jara* and *Lembo-Lanjia* or long-tailed), of which one is *Jarā* or *Jarā Savara*.

Jarā is not given as the name of any of the sections of the Savaras in Bengal, Bihār and Oṛissā. Risley tells us that "the Savaras of the Orissa Tributary States are divided into four sub-tribes—*Bendkar*, *Parira*, *Jharua* and *Palli*. The name of 'Jhārua', which resembles 'Jarā' means 'pertaining to jungles' (and therefore

presumably 'wild'). Thurston in his *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* gives the names of the six sub-divisions among the Hill Savaras of Southern India (Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts) as follows:—"Jati Savara or Maliab (Jungle) Savara; Arsi, Arist (monkey) or Lombo Lanjia (long-tailed), Luara or Muli (workers in iron), Kindal (basket-makers), Jadu (living in the hill country beyond Kallakota and Puttaguja) and Kumbi (potters)." Neither the Bundelkhand Savaras or the Savars of the United Provinces nor the Central Provinces or Chhatisgarhi Savars (Lārīā Savars) possess, in any section of them, the name of Jara or some similar name. It is probable that Jara, Jhārūā and Jadu or Jaru may be variants of the same name. If this be so, it will not be unreasonable to infer that the Hill Khārīās who claim to have been intimately associated or connected with the Jarā Savaras may have found their way from their original home in some part of the Central Hill Belt of India by the same route as the Savars of the Ganjam district, and reached the Mayurbhanj hills which became the centre of their subsequent dispersion, if not their area of characterization.

The fact that the Hill Khārīās have forgotten their tribal tongue and differ widely in their traditions and customs, except on some fundamental ideas and beliefs from the main body of the tribe may be accounted for, as I have already said by separation from the main body of Khārīās by a wide intervening territory for a considerably long period.

Whereas the Hill Khārīās regard themselves as the autochthones of the Mayurbhanj State, both the Dūdh Khārīās and Dhelki Khārīās possess tradition of their ancient migrations from the Kaimur Plateau which at Rohtasgarh rises to an elevation of 1,490 feet above sea-level. All the elders of the Dūdh Khārīās and Dhelki Khārīās whom I questioned recounted the tradition of their having once lived in "Ruidas-Pāṭna", and thence come down what they called—"Khārīā Ghāt" (the Khārīā Pass) to Chōṭā-Nāgpur. The Dhelki section migrated from their ancient home on the Rohtās plateau sometime before the Dūdh Khārīās and made settlements along the banks of River Sankh in the south-western parts of the Rānchi district. Tapkarā (now Parganā Bhourpāhār, thānā Kolebirā,) and Tāmṛā (now Parganā Biru, thana Simdegā) are

named as having been their principal centres in those days in what is now the Rānchi District. Later the Dūdh Khāriās came to the country where the Dhelkis had preceded them. These later immigrants who had stricter notions of purity in food called themselves the Dūdh Khāriās (lit., Milk Khāriās, probably meaning, Khāriās ceremonially clean or pure as milk), and outcasted the earlier Khāriā settlers in the land whom they called *Dhelki* (or Dhella-ki) or *Seng Dhelki* (lit., he came first). The ground assigned for this "outcasting" is that the Khāriās took food cooked by the Mūṇḍās who were already in occupation of the country when the Dhelkis arrived there. On being outcasted the Dhelki Khāriās crossed the hills which separate the Simdega, Ṭiṭhaiṭāngar, Kurdeg and Bolba thanas of the Rānchi district from the present Feudatory States of Gangpur and the western part of Jāshpur.

Dūdh Khāriā migration traditions go into greater details. Thus, Māhto (alias Sulean) Kerketa and some other Dūdh Khāriās of Simdega, and Ram Induar of Tābāḍih (Thana Simdega) gave me the following version:—"The ancestors of the Dūdh Khāriās and the Dhelki Kāriās lived as one people under their own king in Ruidas-Paṭṇā. The Khāriā Rājā named Moreng who was very rich and had many cattle, was attacked by an Āhir Chief and his people, and was worsted. The Khāriā Chief left Ruidas-Paṭṇā with his elder sons and followers leaving his wife and younger sons and some tribe-fellows in the old home as the younger sons were too young to undertake the hardships of the journey. The Gohār Pūjā (Cattle-shed festival) of our tribe is really the propitiation of the spirit of the Āhir-Āhirin with whom our ancestors fought at Ruidas-Paṭṇā. The Khāriā Chief and his sons and followers moved on to this country (Chōṭā-Nāgpur) and settled in Parganā Biru and its neighbourhood (in the South-western part of the present Ranchi District). Later on when the younger sons of the Khāriā Chief became old enough to undertake long journeys, they and their companies too left Ruidas-Paṭṇā and passed through the Chōṭā-Nāgpur plateau along the valley of the [South] Koel through Pālkoṭ, Basiā, and Kolēbirā to Parganā Biru. On the way many families settled down all along the banks of the Koel. Their first halt on the

Chōṭā-Nāgpur plateau was at a place called Murgu. And one of their main centres and halting places which tradition remembers is village Porā in thana Basiā. In Parganā Biru they met the D̥helki Khāriās who had preceded them. As the later immigrants were led by the younger sons of the Khāriā Raja who had been left with their mother as sucklings, they came to be called "Dūdh" Khāriās (*lit.*, Milk-Khāriās). Later, at one of their tribal dances, twelve Dūdh Khāriā youngmen eloped with Mūṇḍā girls and their offspring came to be known as Mūṇḍā Khāriās or Penrāi-Khāriās. These latter now live in the villages Bhanur Pāṇi, Kilga and some other places in Simḍegā Thānā, and at Kinderḍegā and a few other villages in Kolebira Thānā. The D̥helki Khāriās and Mūṇḍā-Khāriās kill cows and oxen and eat beef whereas we Dūdh Khāriās do not. The Mūṇḍā-Khāriā girls and women have their arms and chests and sometimes their legs and even their feet tatooed as Mūṇḍā and Orāon women, and the same is the case with the D̥helki Khāriās, but our (Dūdh Khāriā) girls and women have only three short vertical lines tatooed on their foreheads but no tatoo marks on the rest of the body."

Some Dūdh Khāriā elders such as Tingul Kerkeṭā of Salḍegā (thana Simḍegā) and Abhiram *alias* Somā Ḍūṅḍūṅ of village Birkerā in thana Simḍegā gave me the following variant of the tradition of the migrations of their ancestors:—"Our ancestors went from Ruidas-Pāṭnā to Kharia-ghāṭ, thence to Murgu, thence through some other places whose names I do not remember to Nāgpur (Chōṭā-Nāgpur) where the ancestors of my clan (Ḍūṅḍūṅ) and those of the Kerkeṭā clan halted at a place named Kumhāriā and the ancestors of the Kulu clan settled at Patura Kinirkelā, those of Torpa at Saleguṭu, and those of the Bā' clan at Banāguṭu, those of Soreng (rock) at Barwe, all in thana Basiā, and cleared the jungles and settled down in those parts. Others moved on to Barwāḍi in thānā Kolebirā and settled there. My ancestors, leading a pack-bullock loaded with the wealth they had brought with them, proceeded on their journey forward. Arriving at a place now known as Siru Kōṇrekerā in thana Kolebirā the pack-bullock refused to move. My ancestors purchased Siru Kōṇrekerā with the wealth they brought with them. Some of the ancestors

of the Kerkeṭā clan moved on and settled down at Aghormā and at Barwaḍi in thana Kōlebirā; the ancestors of the Bilung (Salt) clan settled at Bilungbira, those of the Kiro (tiger) clan at Bageserā, both in thana Pālkoṭ, and so forth. When their number increased, the descendants of the original Dūdh Khārīās settlers dispersed to different places all around. The Dhelki Khārīās had preceded into the Biru Parganā where they had cleared jungles and established villages. Our ancestors named these pioneers as 'Dhelki' or 'Seng Dhelki', that is to say, those who 'came first', 'Seng' in our language meaning 'first'. When our ancestors found that these pioneers of the tribe had no scruples in eating at the hands of other castes and tribes, they outcasted them and, as the number of Dūdh Khārīās increased, the Dhelki Khārīās crossed the hills that separate the Biru parganā of the Rānchi District from the Gāngpur and Jāshpur State".

A number of Dhelki Khārīās of the Gāngpur and Jāshpur States (such as Lalhu Khārīā of Jambāhūr, in Jāshpur, and Bhunda Khārīā of Liploe in Gāngpur) gave me the bare tradition of their former home in Ruidās-Pāṭnā, their immigration through Khārīā-ghaṭ to Biru Parganā in the Rānchi District and the subsequent arrival of the Dūdh Khārīās. With regard to the name 'Dhelki Khārīā', they told me—"The Dūdh Khārīās used the word 'Chol', but we use the term 'san' to mean 'to go', but both the Dūdh Khārīās and ourselves use the word 'Del' meaning 'to come'. But whereas the Dūdh Khārīās say [*ārki*] *Della-ki* (they went), we, Dhelki Khārīās say 'Dhelki'; and whereas the Dūdh Khārīās says [*ārki*] *Cholla-ki* (they came), we say 'san-ning'. Hence the Dūdh Khārīās call us 'Dhelki Khārīās' or 'Sin-Dhelki' and, we, in our turn, call them 'Cholkoi-Khārīās', as they use the word '*cbōl*' to mean 'going' whereas we use the word '*san*'. The Cholkoi Khārīās, however, call themselves 'Dūdh Khārīās' and that is the name by which they are now generally known. But they regard us as their elder brothers; and so we are also known as 'Baṛ or Baṛkā Khārīās' whereas they are known as the 'Chhoṭ' 'Khārīās'. Many Dūdh Khārīās agree in saying that the Dūdh Khārīās are known as 'Baṛ or Baṛkā Khārīās' and themselves as the 'Chhoṭkā Khārīās' because the former are descendants of the elder brother and the latter of the younger brothers. He

also mentions another tradition which, however, I have not come across. That tradition is that "they had come from the south, and that, driven from the country they had originally occupied, they had ascended the valley of the Koel till they found themselves in their present location". Dalton opines that both the traditions may be true. "They may have fallen back south from the Gangetic Provinces, pass through the Vindhyan range, and come gradually round to the south-eastern watershed of Chutia Naggpur." Dalton does not, however, mention the source of his information regarding this tradition.

Another tradition recorded by Russel traces the descent of the Khārīās from the elder of two brothers of whom "the younger by reason of his superior intelligence and taste was made king and became the ancestor of the Nāg Vamśi Rājās of Chōṭā-Nāgpur who are really Mundas". And Russel adds that "this story is exactly like that of the Parjas in connection with the Rajas of Bastar".

It may be noted that this story also appears to be a reproduction with slight variation of the legend of the Mūṇḍās as to their own relations with the Mahārāja of Chōṭā-Nāgpur. Mr. Russel does not state where he or his informant came across this tradition. Mr. Russel further says that the theory that the Khārīās stand in the relationship of the younger brothers to the Mundas "derives some support from the fact that, according to Sir H. Risley, the Mundas will take daughters in marriage from the Khārīās but will not give daughters to them, and the Khārīās speak of the Mundas as their elder brothers". But my enquiries show that Risley was misinformed that Mūṇḍās ordinarily take Khārīā wives. Wherever a Mūṇḍā takes a Khārīā wife he is outcasted and his children become "Khārīā-Mūṇḍās" which Risley includes as one of the sub-tribes of Mūṇḍās. So this tradition may be safely left out of account as a borrowed one. The tradition which calls the Mūṇḍās 'the elder brothers of the Khārīās' is true in the sense that both belong to the same 'Kolarian' stock, and the Mūṇḍās preceded the Khārīās to Chōṭā-Nāgpur. Dalton does not, however, mention the source of his information regarding this tradition too.

Although the exact route followed by the different branches of the Khārīā tribe in the migrations that brought them to their pre-

sent habitat is shrouded in obscurity, such traditions as are still remembered by them and other cognate tribes as well as the present distribution of this tribe and some other cognate tribes, point to the probability of their having once occupied the fertile river-valleys north of the Vindhya and the Kaimur ranges. With the advent of the Āryans they would appear to have gradually moved up the hill ranges on their south and taken shelter on the wooded plateaus of the Vindhya and Kaimur ranges. One section of the Khārīās in course of time probably pushed forward by the pressure of other tribes made their way further to the south and south-east into what are now the Orissa States and found a suitable stronghold in the hill-ranges of what is now the Mayurbhanj State and in time from that centre of dispersion some spread further north and east. These were the ancestors of the present-day Pāhārīa Khārīās or Hill Khārīās. It would be futile to seek to trace the exact route by which they reached their present habitat, as they retain no traditions of their past migrations. There is however, some basis for the conjecture that from the Vindhyan hills they came down the valley of the Mahānadi to the Orissā Feudatory States and finally ensconced themselves in the Mayurbhanj hills. The Mahānadi has its source in the mountainous country of the Central Provinces and flows eastwards along the southern borders of the Bilāspur District and the Raigarh State and the northern borders of the Rāipur District and the Sarangarh State, enters the Orissā district of Sambalpur and thence proceeding in a south-easterly direction through the highlands of Sōnpur Aṭhmalik and some Feudatory States of Orissā emerges upon the Orissā delta about seven miles west of Cuttack. The Savars whom Hill Khārīā traditions represent as having been one with or most closely related to themselves would also appear to have entered Orissā along the valley of the Mahānadi and then proceeded to Ganjām and Vizāgapaṭam. Having separated from the main body of the tribe and isolated themselves in the hill fastnesses of Mayurbhanj and some other Feudatory States of Orissā and in the hills of Dalbhum (in Singbhum) and Barābhum (Mānbhum) long enough to lose their native tongue, and having been cut off from intimate intercourse with more advanced people and cultures, and having had to spend all their energies in a strenuous

struggle for existence, they have remained well-nigh stagnant during all these long centuries and have been far outstripped in the race of life by the other two main divisions of the tribe.

The next division of the Khārīās to leave the Rohtas plateau was the Dhelki. Their traditions only speak of their own settlement in Chōṭā-Nāgpur on the banks of the river Sankh. They make no mention of the river Koel (South Koel) nor are there any traces of ancient settlements of Dhelki Khārīās in the valley of the South Koel. But even to this day some remnants of the Dhelkis are found in the valley of the Sankh. The Sankh rises in the north-west of the Rānchi district, debouches from the Rājāderā Plateau southwards across the lower plateau of Barwe, and forms the boundary line between the Rānchi district and the Jāshpur Statē on its west, and finally turns westward and enters the Gāngpur State on the south-west of the Rānchi District, where after a course of several miles it joins the South Koel to form the Brāmhaṇī river. The North Koel rises not far from the source of the Sankh and flows northward through the valley of Bishunpur (in the Rānchi district) and the district of Palamau where, after a course of 186 miles, it falls into the Sōn below Rohtās plateau. It is not unlikely that the Dhelki Khārīās may have followed the upward course of the North Koel from below Rohtās as far as to its source in the north-west of the Rānchi district and from there followed the course of the Sankh from its source to their traditional centres further down on its banks. For the greater part of its course the North Koel flows through parallel ranges of hills which run from east to west, and form a covered way by which the Dhelki immigrants could march with comparative safety through areas already occupied by other primitive tribes. Another possible route could be from the Rohtās Plateau in what is now the Shāhābād District through the Vindhyan hills in the Mirzāpur District and the Sirgujā State across the Khuria Plateau (Khuria-ghāt) in the Jāshpur State and thence across the Sankh, which is fordable on foot except during the rains, to their former homes in the south-west of the Rānchi district. The Vindhyan and Kaimur ranges are connected by a continuous chain of hills with the extensive plateau of Central India which extends on the west as far as the highlands of Amar-

kantak, which is the source of the Narbada, through Central India and the Central Provinces with the Upper-ghat or highlands of the Surguja and Jāshpur States as far east as the central plateaus of Chhōṭā Nāgpur which form the source of the Dāmōdar, the Subarnarekha, the Koel and the Sankh.

The Dūdh Khārīās who migrated last from the Rohtās Plateau and are said to have dislodged the Dhelki Khārīās from the banks of the Sankh in the Rānchi district, generally cherish the tradition that their first settlements in Chōṭā-Nāgpur lay on the banks of the South-Koel in Thānās Basiā and Pālkoṭ in the centre of the Rānchi District whence they gradually spread south and west along the valley of the Sankh. If this tradition is correct, the Dūdh Khārīās, on their arrival on the Chōṭā-Nāgpur plateau probably by following the upward course of the North Koel, did not, like the Dhelki Khārīās follow the course of the Sankh but turned westward and then descended southwards along the valley of the South Koel, dropping colonies in what are now thānās Ghāghrā, Gūmlā, Sesāi, till they reached what are now the Pālkoṭ and Basiā and Bāno thānās which provided a suitable home and sufficient arable lands for a large number of them, but not for all. And so a fairly large number of Dūdh Khārīā families migrated further south to what are now the Kolēbirā, Simdegā and Kūrdeg thānās in the valley of the Sankh. There they found the Dhelki Khārīās already in occupation of the more fertile lands. The tradition of both these sections of the tribe agree in asserting that owing to disagreement between the two sections, the Dhelkis crossed over to the Gāngpur and Jāshpur States across the Sankh, leaving the Dūdh section in occupation of their former settlements in the Rānchi District. As their population increased, a number of Dūdh Khārīās moved further up the Sankh to the north and north-east and settled in thanas Rāiḍih and Chainpur. The Khārīā population (almost wholly Dūdh Khārīā) in these thānās of the Rānchi District is according to the last Census distributed as follows:—

Ghāghrā 506, Guhla 4,207, Sesāi 2,611, Pālkoṭ 8,903, Bāno 1,085, Kolēbirā 9,280, Simdegā 24,727, Kūrdeg 9,727, Rāiḍih 2,741, and Chainpur 107. Only 130 Khārīās were recorded in other parts of the Rānchi district (Sadar and Khūṇṭi Sub-divisions).

A second likely route for the Dūdh Khāriās would be the first alternative route up the North Koel and down the Sankh which I have suggested as a possible route of migration of the Dhelki section. In following this route, the Dūdh Khāriās would, on entering the Rānchi district, pass first through Chainpur Thānā where only 12 individuals were enumerated at the last Census as Khāriās, then through Rāiḍih thānā where 2,741 Khāriās were enumerated, then to Kūrḍeg and Simḍegā thānās where 24,727 and 9,727 Khāriās respectively were enumerated. Here they would find the Dhelki Khāriās already established, and the traditions of both the Dhelki and Dūdh Khāriās agree in saying that the former left these parts in possession of the latter, crossed over to the Jāshpur State on the west and Gāngpur State on the south.

Another probable route for the Dūdh Khāriās and the Dhelki would be partly the same as that suggested in the case of the Hill Khāriās. The Khāriās might have proceeded from the Kaimur hills to the Central Provinces, where they are now found and thence eastwards through what are now the Sambalpur District and Gāngpur State. From Gāngpur instead of going further down the valley of the Mahānadi they might have turned northwards to what is now the Rānchi District. The South Koel and the Sankh rivers unite their waters at village Pānposh in the Gāngpur State to form the Brāmhaṇī. The Dhelkis who came first might have followed the upward course of the Sankh and found themselves in what are now the Simḍegā and Kūrḍeg thānās of the Rānchi district and settled there. The Dūdh section might have followed the upward course of the South Koel and found themselves in what are now the Bāṇo, Basiā, Pālkot, Gūmlā and Sesāi thānās of the Rānchi district, and many families of them would settle down in those parts. But there was already a large population of Orāons and Mūṇḍās in those areas which did not afford sufficient room and particularly suitable arable lands for all the Khāriā immigrants. Finding their further progress up the Koel useless on account of previous occupation by the Mūṇḍās and Orāons, a considerable number of Dūdh Khāriā families would proceed south and south-west to the comparatively wilder and more spacious and sparsely occupied areas in what are now the Kolēbirā,

Simḍegā and Kūrḍeg thānās. In the Simḍegā and Kūrḍeg thānās in the valley of the Sankh they found the Ḍhelki Khārīās already in occupation of the more open and fertile tracts. The tradition of both the Dūdh and the Ḍhelki section agree in asserting that the former pushed the latter from the parts across the Sankh into the adjoining Gāngpur State of Orissā and Jāshpur State of the Central Provinces. As the Dūdh Khārīās increased in population, a number of them also crossed over to the Gāngpur State, and in time some of their overflow might have passed on westwards to the Central Provinces again where perhaps they found some remnants of their own tribe.

This last supposed route would accord with the tradition which Dalton records of the Dūdh Khārīās having come from the south, and ascended the valley of the Koel. It would also fit in more or less with the other traditions of all sections of the Khārīās and harmonise them to some extent, and would account for the present distribution of the Khārīā population. The only tradition which would militate against this view is that recorded by Russel according to which some Central Provinces Khārīās claim relationship with the Nāg Vamśī Rājās of Chōṭā-Nāgpur. It is not improbable that the Chōṭā-Nāgpur Khārīās may originally have passed the Central Provinces on their way to Chōṭā-Nāgpur and some Khārīās from Chōṭā-Nāgpur may at a later stage have been pushed back to the Central Provinces under pressure of population. Moreover some Nāg Vamśī families are also found in the Central Provinces, as, for example, the Rāj family of Kālāhāṇḍi, who claim agnatic relation with the Chōṭā-Nāgpur Rāj family.

Philological evidence would also appear to lend support to this supposition of the Khārīās having migrated through the Central Provinces to their present habitat in Chōṭā-Nāgpur and Orissā. We have it on the authority of Sir George Grierson that the Khārīā language in important points agrees with the Koṛku language of the Mahādeo Hills in the Central Provinces on the one hand and the Juāṅg dialect of the Keonjhar and Pal Laharā States of Orissā, and the Savara and Gadava languages of the north-eastern districts (Ganjām and Vizāgapatam) of Madras on the other.

Whatever the route the different sections of the Khāriās may have taken in their past migrations it is clear that they have not always been what they are to-day. They have travelled from one region to another, they have come in more or less contact with various communities and cultures, they have changed—however slowly and imperceptibly—their manners and habits, one section of them—the most backward—has changed their Austric language for an Āryan one, another—the Dhelkis—have experienced prosperity and then misfortune and dispersion,—the third and most successful of the three main sections show remarkable vitality and power of expansion. But although the Khāriās no longer represent the primitive culture of pre-historic times, their more backward sections still give us some idea of the low economic and social condition and the crude religious and moral ideas of primitive culture.



ETHNOGRAPHICAL INVESTIGATION IN OFFICIAL RECORDS

By RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA ROY, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

The Official Record-rooms of the Divisional head-quarters of the Provinces of British India contain materials of immense value and interest to students of ethnology and sociology as much as to students of the history of the early days of British rule in the country. It is unfortunate that the record-rooms of backward Divisions like Chōṭā Nāgpur have up till now not received the same amount of attention from research scholars than those in more advanced Divisions are receiving. But the materials buried in these archives in Chōṭā Nāgpur are not less,—are perhaps really more,—interesting, at least from the point of view of the ethnologist, sociologist, and the student of the early history of human institutions.

With the kind permission of more than one former Commissioner of the Chōṭā Nāgpur Division I had opportunities of studying some of the old records preserved in the Commissioner's Record-room. In a previous volume of this Journal I had edited and published an early Report on the history and land-tenures of Chōṭā Nāgpur submitted in 1826 to Government by Mr. Cuthbert, then Magistrate and Collector of the Rāmgaṛh (present Rānchicum-Hāzāribāgh district). Thirteen years later, in 1839, a more detailed and informative Report was submitted by Dr. John Davidson, then Personal Assistant to the Governor-General's Agent, South-Western Frontier Agency. With the kind permission of Mr. (now Hon'ble Mr.) Hubback, then Commissioner of Chōṭā Nāgpur, I secured a copy of that Report in full, for publication, and I reproduce it below with an introduction and explanatory notes.

It may be noted that when in 1831-32, the aboriginal tribes of Chōṭā Nāgpur, particularly the Muṇḍās of what is now the Rānchi District and the Hōs of what is now the Singbhum District,

finding themselves totally unable to resist the aggressions of non-aboriginal land-holders (Jāgirdārs and Thiccādārs) and alien money-lenders and traders, and obtaining little redress from the executive and judicial authorities stationed at far-off Sherghāṭi (now in the Gayā district) and Chātra (in the present Hāzāribāgh district), rose in a bloody revolt. It was then that the British authorities first came to realise the necessity of special protection of the immemorial rights and legitimate interests of the aboriginal tenants and land-holders. It was then that the old system of administering these tracts as an ordinary 'Regulation District' was, by Regulation XIII of 1832, superseded by the new administrative machinery of an 'Agency' denominated the "South-Western Frontier Agency." A special officer designated 'the Agent to the Governor-General' with a 'Personal Assistant' besides 'Principal Assistants' at the District Head-quarters and, later, 'Junior Assistants' besides Munsiffs and a Principal Sudder Āmeen, was appointed to administer what is now the Chōṭā Nāgpur Division. In place of the older elaborate legal codes and 'Regulations', a simple set of rules for the administration of civil and criminal justice was promulgated by the Agent and approved by Government, for the guidance of the courts.

It was on the 15th January, 1834, that Captain Wilkinson (popularly known as *Āl-Kisben Shābeb*) assumed charge as the first Agent to the Governor-General, South-Western Frontier Agency. His head-quarters were fixed in a quarter of Rānchi which came to be named, after him, *Kisbenpur*, and a military cantonment was stationed at Dōraṇḍā where the present Secretariat buildings stand. Major Ousley (who had been the first Principal Assistant to the Agent for Lohardāgā) succeeded Captain Wilkinson as the Governor-General's Agent. Dr. Davidson who submitted the valuable Report published below was the Personal Assistant to the Governor-General's Agent who, as Mr. (afterwards Sir Henry) Ricketts, then Member of the Board of Revenue, in his official "Report (para 42) on the Lohurdugga Division of Chōṭā-Nāgpur," in 1854, wrote,—“was a person of much intelligence, and studied the condition of the Province of Chōṭā-Nāgpur with much attention.” Thus the subjoined Report is particularly valuable as a contem-

porary official Report of conditions in Chōṭā Nāgpur of a century ago prepared by a careful and acute observer in the light of close personal investigation and official experience.

No. 247

To

Major J. R. Ouseley,
Governor-General's Agent,
Kishenpoor.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 661, dated 9th August 1839, requesting information on various points connected with the Zameendars and cultivators of this country, in order to reply to which, it is necessary for me to go into some detail.

2. The great mass of the population of Nagpoor known by Europeans, under the name of Coles,¹ consists of Moondas,² Kureas,³ and Ooraons.⁴ The uniform tradition states, that the Moondas originally cleared the country, and brought it into cultivation, there was no Raja of the whole country, which was divided into *purbas* (or patches) of from 15 to 20 or 25 villages each, under a Raja. It is impossible now to say what these Rajas received from their subjects—most probably only assistance in war and *salamie* at festivals. Finding, I suppose, that this system of managing the country by means of so many Rajas did not answer, the Moondas elected the ancestor of the present Palkote family to the Raja of the whole country, since which sixty-two Rajas of that family are stated to have sat on the Guddy,⁵ with a few adoptions in the same family. The Raja's family and friends pretend they were Rajpoots at the time of the election, but there can be no doubt, that their ancestor was a Moonda—and the family prospering they managed by force to get married into the Rajpoot families of Puchate⁶ and Singhbhum, and eventually into others and now pass for as good Rajpoots as any in India.

¹ Kols.

² Mūṇḍās.

³ Khāriās.

⁴ Orāons.

⁵ Gaddi or *Gadī* (throne).

⁶ Pachet, now Panchkōṭ in the Mānbhum District.

3. The remains of the former system of Cole Rajas are still visible in Pergh. Khookra and other parts of Nagpoor, they have still their *purhas*⁷ and nominal Rajas, who are always men of influence and on their festivals the members of the *purha* assemble to hunt, amuse themselves, and decide disputes, etc., on which occasions the Raja's authority is still recognized.

Each *Purha* in general has its distinguishing flag⁸ or ensign the attempt to make use of which by the Coles of another *Purha* at their festivals immediately leads to serious quarrels.

4. The custom in those remote days was, that whoever cleared the land became the owner of the same, free of rent only in return rendering to the head of the village such services as the common good required. Most probably on the death or absence without descendants of the original clearer of the land, the head Moonda of the village, gave his land on the same tenure to some of his own relations or followers.

5. To enable the Palkote Rajas to keep the peace and carry on the wars in which they were constantly involved, a certain rent from each village came gradually to be paid, but the right or property in the head Moondas of the villages, appears to have been long recognized.

6. On the Palkote family becoming Hindoos, and regularly marrying into the neighbouring Hindoo families it became a great object with them to induce other Hindoos to settle in Nagpoor. The only mode of doing so, in their power, was to grant villages, by which means all the *Sud* or foreign proprietors in Nagpoor, have been established. Burraicks, Rajpoots, Bramins, Rawteeas etc., etc., are all foreigners brought in by the Palkote family as

⁷ *Pārhas* (federations of aboriginal villages).

⁸ This obviously refers to the flag of the "Raja village" of each Parha, which is the most important village, having probably been the seat of the ruling chief of the 'Parhā-area.' But since the advent of a Nāgbansi Rājā for the whole central plateau of Chota Nagpur the 'Parha Raja' has lost his political rights and now exercises only certain definite social, religious and economic functions as the head of the Parha besides certain definite judicial and executive functions assigned by immemorial custom, as remnants of his former rights. Although the "Parha-Raja" village has distinctive functions and duties and distinct badges of office and a distinctive flag-design, the other villages of the Parha, too, have now their respective flag-designs, and any attempt to infringe the 'patent-right' to the flag or emblem of one village by another is a *causus belli*.

a sort of military force to enable them to support themselves against the neighbouring Rajas, and also to control the Coles. The *Suds*⁹ being more civilized than the Coles, were not long in obtaining the mastery and have kept it. And now in all the more open parts of Nagpoor, there is hardly such a thing to be met with as a Cole proprietor of a village. In the Southern parts of it, they have been more fortunate, and the Mankees¹⁰ and Moondas of Sonepoor exhibit at this day much the same state of society as formerly prevailed all over Nagpoor, only the Mankees and Moondas pay more rent than was ever paid by the Cole proprietors in Pergunnah Khookra etc., in former times.

7. I say nothing of the Mankees and Moondas of Tamar and the five Pergunnahs as those countries did not form any part of the Nagpoor family's possessions till modern times.

8. In all the various changes of rulers in India, no Government seems to have interfered in the internal management of Nagpoor, until our own times. The paramount power appears to have been always contented with getting a moderate rent for this country, and when that was not paid, a force was sent to collect as much as it could, but no attempt ever appears to have been made to interfere with the Police or administration of justice which was left entirely to the Raja. The consequence was that only those of the original heads of villages who were strong enough to inspire fear such as those in Sonepore etc., were able to keep their villages,—the others were entirely dispossessed and replaced by *Suds* or their villages resumed by the Raja himself, long before our era:—

9. On the original establishment of Zillah Ramghur, Nagpoor was made subject to its courts, but this was only in name, as up to 1809, there were no Police Thannahs in Nagpoor, but everything was left pretty much to the discretion of the Raja, and matters might have continued in that state much longer, had not the disputes between the father of the present Raja and his brothers

⁹ *Sud*, *Sād* or *Sādan* is the generic name applied in the Chōṭā Nāgpur plateau to the non-aboriginal Hindus. Probably the term *Sud* is derived from the Sanskrit word *Suddha*, meaning, 'pure'.

¹⁰ *Mānki* is the headman of a *piṛ* or group of villages for revenue purposes in the Sonpur Pargana of the Ranchi District and in the Singbhum District.

led to the necessity of employing a military force in Nagpoor, upon which Thannahs were established, and the Police put under the Magistrate of Ramghur. But distance from the seat of justice, the novelty of the attempt, and the singular character of the people prevented the magistrate's control being effectual, and in point of fact there was no regular Police or administration of justice in Nagpoor, till the present Agency was established in 1834.

10. The persons to whom lands have been granted in Nagpoor by the Rajas may be divided into 3 classes:—

I. The younger brothers of the different Rajas and their descendants. On a Raja's succeeding to the estate, his younger brothers always receive a grant of lands subject to a small rent.

II. Burraicks,¹¹ Rajpoots,¹² Rawteeas¹³ *etc.*, *etc.*, who hold Jaggeers,¹⁴ granted originally on payment of a fixed rent for the performance of military services; the latter are now little required, and they pay in general a somewhat higher rent than they did at the time of the introduction of the authority of our Government.

III. Bramins,¹⁵ and individuals of other castes who have come from below the Ghauts¹⁶ and got grants of lands generally by purchase at fixed rents from the different Rajas, sometimes also rent free; and also grants, of rent-free lands for religious purposes, in the mode usually given by Hindoos.

11. Almost the whole of the lands above described with the exception of those for religious uses are held on what is called in Nagpoor, *potr-pootradik* tenures, *i.e.*, the grantee and his direct male descendants are entitled to hold the lands on payment of the rent stipulated as long as there are any direct male descendants, on failure of which the Raja is entitled to resume the estates. There is generally a stipulation of services, as well as money rent in the pattas, but there being in fact no service to perform, this is considered merely nominal. There is also a stipulation of paying the usual abwabs, and the list of them is very formidable, in some

¹¹ Baraiks.

¹² Rajputs.

¹³ Rautias.

¹⁴ Jagirs.

¹⁵ Brähmans.

¹⁶ Ghâts (mountain passes). The approach to the Central plateau (Ranchi District) of Chota Nagpur from all four sides is through *ghats* or hill-passes.

cases, nearly equalling the amount of the rent, and having the disadvantage of being uncertain. These abwabs were a fruitful source of oppression to the Coles, but fortunately they have been abolished for the last ten or twelve years by an order of the Magistrate of Ramghur. The Raja complains greatly of the hardship of this order and, at my first coming here, I made some enquiries on the subject; but found the demands so enormous that to enforce them would ruin the whole country. They are well got rid of, and ought never to be revived in any shape.

12. The right of resumption, on failure of male descendants of the original grantee, was formerly exercised by the Rajas with much forbearance. In fact the Rajas could only continue in possession of their estates in those times, by having the support of their land-holders, whose good-will it was necessary to conciliate; consequently when an estate lapsed, they were in the habit of renewing the grant to any of the collateral descendants, on payment of a small fine, or as it is called in Nagpoor *bundeapun*.

Our Government being strong enough to render the security of the Raja quite independent of the good-will of his under-holders, this forbearance is entirely at an end, and an extreme avidity for seizing all possible pretexts, to resume the estates of the different landholders, is now shown by the Raja. The under-holders all over the country, are extremely disgusted at this conduct, but the Raja does not mind, considering that on payment of his rent, our Government will support him, as a matter of course, against all opposition.

13. I now proceed to treat of the respective rights of the land-holders or their Theekadars and of the Coles. In a village in Nagpore the following descriptions of land are almost always met with.

I. Rajhus,¹⁷ or the land paying rent to the owner or his representative.

II. Bhet-Kheta¹⁸ a certain portion of the Rujhus, which each

¹⁷ *Rajhas* or ordinary *raiya* lands (now including even *Kōrkhar* which formerly enjoyed practically the same privileges as *Bhuinbāri* lands).

¹⁸ *Bet-Kheta* or land for which *bet-begar* or free labour was to be rendered to the zamindar by the holder of the land.

ryot not a Bhoonjer is allowed to cultivate free of rent, and for which he performs, various services to the landlord, or his representative, such as thatching his house, cultivating the Munjhis, etc. The Bhetkhetta allowed to each ryot is generally sufficient to sow from 20 seers to one maund of seed.

III. The Jaggeers of the Muhto,¹⁹ Pahn²⁰ and Bhundori,²¹ which they have free of rent, on performance of certain services to be hereafter described.

IV. Munjhis²² or ground allotted to the landlord or his Theekadars, which is cultivated chiefly by the ryots in return for their Bhetkhetta and Bhoonjhari. This is subject to great abuse, and requires regulation to be hereafter described.

V. Land held rent-free by the original clearers of the soil or their descendants. It is called Bhoonjeri, Byebulla, Areawt, Khontkutty, in different parts of the country. The holders of this land in general pay no rent, but are bound to accompany the land-holders or their Theekadars on journeys carrying their Bhangies,²³ and to cultivate their Munjhis ground, also thatch and build their house etc., without payment. In some parts of the country this description of land pays a rent, but never more than half the rate of the village; in general, however, it does not pay rent.

VI. Bhootkhetta, or rent free land, the produce of which is appropriated for the performance of Poojas, part of this called Dali Khetari²⁴ is given up to the Pahn of the village, the rest is cultivated by the ryots, but the produce of the whole is appropriated to Poojas.

VII. The above applies to the rice field or Doon²⁵ to every pawa of which a certain portion of Danr or dry-cultivation land is attached. If ryots cultivate more than they are entitled to, the general rule is to pay rent in kind i.e., the same quantity of grain

¹⁹ *Muhto* or the secular headman of a village-community.

²⁰ *Raban* or the sacerdotal headman of an aboriginal village community.

²¹ *Bhāṇḍari* is the landlord's steward in the village.

²² *Manjhibas*.

²³ *Bhangi* or *bangie* or *bābingā* is the load-carrying wooden pole at both ends of which carrying-nets called '*sikās*' are slung or attached.

²⁴ *Dali kātāri*.

²⁵ *Don*.

is paid as rent, as the quantity of seed sown; this is called *Maswar*.

14. The Theekadar or owner of the village, has no right whatsoever by the established custom of Nagpore to take a higher rent from the cultivators of the Rajhus, than they have been in the custom of paying nor can he turn out an old cultivator as long as he is willing and able to pay his rent. The contrary to this is often done and from ignorance or timidity submitted to by the ryots, but every unprejudiced person allows it is contrary to justice, and the custom of the country.

15. The acknowledged fair labour that the Coles are obliged to give the Theekadar or land-owner for their Bhetkhetta, and Bhoonjeri is 3 days' ploughing, 3 days' work with the Cor²⁶ or Kadal,²⁷ 3 days' work in planting rice and same at cutting it, to bring grass and bamboos and thatch their houses, and occasionally when on a journey to carry their bangies. All this the Coles acknowledge to be due from them, and they are most willing to perform it; I never heard two opinions on the subject from the Coles. But it is very much abused, some proprietors or Theekadars are in the habit of cultivating a large piece of land as Munjhis, and taking forced labour to an unlimited extent to cultivate it, in fact, having no measure in their demands upon the Coles until their Munjhis is all cultivated. This the Coles complain against, and in all cases when proved, I have punished the offenders severely, but the system has in some places gone on so long, that they are able to plead custom in many instances and at first sight apparently with some reason, till one reflects, that the poor Coles have all this time been submitting to be plundered of their labour, because they did not know how to get redress.

16. The only regulation required is a proclamation to be freely circulated all over the country, that under no circumstances is more than the fair begari labour, above described, to be demanded from the ryots; if this is not sufficient to cultivate the Munjhis the owner or Theekadar to find what is wanting as he best can. You

²⁶ *Kōri* (spade).

²⁷ *Kōdal* (spade).

appear inclined to abolish the begari altogether; doing so, would unsettle all the transactions in the country, as a regular part of the rent paid by all Theekadars is the Syka rice *i.e.*, the crop of the Munjhis. On taking the case, this has always been calculated as being in part produced free of cost to the Theekadar, by the labour of the ryots, and Bhoonjers, and if abolished at once, all the present cases must be cancelled. Added to which I am satisfied the Guwro ryots, that is, those who are not Bhoonjers, would prefer keeping their Bhetkhetta and performing the work they all consider fair for it, to giving up their Bhetkhetta provided the quantity of labour they are to give, is fairly settled, and the Bhoonjers, who by their tenures are obliged to give work for their Bhoonjeri land would on no account give them up, or pay a commuted rent for them. For these reasons, I think it would be a better plan to regulate the quantity of begari labour, than to abolish it altogether.²⁸

17. The Bhoonjeri lands above alluded to, exist in every village in Nagpoor; they are held rent-free by the Bhoonjers or descendants of the original clearers of the land, on the terms above stated in clause V paragraph 13 of this letter. If the Bhoonjers are without heirs, or leave the village, the owner takes possession of his land and includes it, in his Rujhis, till the Bhoonjer or his heirs return, when they are entitled to receive back their Bhoonjeri land on the old tenure. The owner of the villages often resort to ill usage, or false complaints against the Bhoonjers, to induce them to leave the villages and at any subsequent time on their wishing to return, refuse to restore their lands. This is a great injustice according to all Nagpore ideas, for, by the old custom of the country the Bhoonjer has an undoubted right to receive back his lands, whenever he, or his heirs, return.

18. On occasions of this sort, the Bhoonjer often comes to this court to complain; he is in general poor and gives in a petition on plain paper; the Zumeendar denies his right, states he is at all

²⁸ Although this odious system of begari has been since abolished by law and commuted into money payment, yet in practice it is still enforced by many landlords on their aboriginal raiyats. This is particularly the case still in the Palamau District of Chōṭā Nagpur. (*Vide District Gazetteer of Palamau*, pp. 53, 118, 134, 165; *Settlement Report of Palamau*, p. 121.)

events out of possession and quoting the Regulations desires the Bhoonjer may be referred to a regular suit; I often succeed in settling the case by a compromise, or a punchaet; but at times, the Zumeendar stands out, when I am compelled to dismiss the Bhoonjer's complaint, referring him to a regular suit. This under the circumstances of the case, and with reference to the uncivilized nature of the Bhoonjers, is a great hardship.

19. The value the Bhoonjers attach to their land is very great; nothing will ever reconcile them to be deprived of it. They are always buried in the villages where their Bhoonjeri lands are situated; as even if they die at distance, their heirs consider it a necessary act of piety, to transport their bones to their own village, that they may be buried in the Hursali, or burying-ground of the village. The disturbances in Nagpoor in 1832 were caused by no one cause so much as the dispossession of the Moondas and Mankies who are the Bhoonjers of Sonepoor, of their lands, and until the Bhoonjers are protected in the possession of their lands, we never can be certain of the peace of the country. For these reasons, I would strongly recommend that you should authorise the Assistant of the Division to investigate all cases for dispossession of Bhoonjeri lands, as a miscellaneous case, and when satisfied of the justice of the Bhoonjer's claim, and that he has not been more than twenty years out of possession, to decree in his favour, and give him possession, allowing the opposite party to appeal to you.²⁰ A reference to a regular suit is not at all applicable to a Cole, and, if so ordered, in nine out of ten cases, the powerful Zumeendar will thereby be able to defeat the poor Bhoonjer.

20. There are no putwaries in this country nor have there ever been any. The Muhto of the village is in fact the Putwary, with the remarkable difference, it must be admitted that the Muhto never can read or write, nor can any of the Coles. To give an idea of how matters are managed between the Coles and their land owner, I shall proceed to give an account of what takes place between a new Theekadar of a village and the ryots.

21. On a day appointed, the Theekadar proceeds to the

²⁰ Provision to this effect was long afterwards enacted by s. 6 of Bengal Act II of 1869 (Chota-Nagpur Tenures Act).

Ukhra³⁰ or place of assembly of the village, where he is met by Muhto, Pohn, Bhandari, and as many of the ryots as choose to attend. He proceeds agreeably to the dictation of the Muhto to write down the account of the cultivation of the different ryots, stating the number of pawas and the rent cultivated by each ryot; having furnished this account any new ryots who may wish to have land in the village, after having the quantity, and rent settled, have a Goti given them, but the old ryots have no Goti given to them, their being old cultivators of a certain quantity of land, at a certain rent, is known, the Goti, which is only given as a sort of bind the bargain to ryots on their first engagement, in the same way as a blade of Dhoob grass in the sale of cattle, is considered unnecessary. If any of the old ryots require any new land a *goti* is taken for that, but not for the old cultivation.

22. The Muhto collects the rent as the kists become due, according to the above mentioned account given to the Theekadar and all differences, as to the amount of rent payable by a ryot, if any ever arise, which very seldom happens, are settled by the opinion of the Muhto. So well does this mode answer in practice, that in point of fact a dispute as to the amount of rent owed by a ryot is of rare occurrence. When a Theekadar wishes to cheat a ryot he accuses him of his having cultivated more land than he is entitled to, or of owing him Maswar (grain rent for Dan³¹) or something else of that sort; and if such thing as a dispute as to the amount of rent owed, ever does arise, the Muhtoe's evidence is generally considered conclusive by both parties.

23. It appears therefore that the Muhtoe is in point of fact, the Patwari, though he can neither read nor write, and makes his calculations by means of little bits of gravel, instead of by pen and ink. Being a Cole he will seldom lend himself to any injustice of the land-owner, and that he renders substantial justice to both parties is shown by the fact that in disputes all parties refer to his testimony, which unless there is some apparent reason to the contrary, I always receive as conclusive in cases before me, and

³⁰ *Ākhra* or *Ākhārā*, the village meeting-ground and dancing-ground.

³¹ *Dān* or *dānṛ* or *Tānṛ* is upland on which only coarse rice and pulses etc., can be grown.

this agrees with the custom of the country.

24. Your proposal to introduce Putwaries, I fear, would be impracticable, as there are no such people in the country, and even if they were brought from a distance at a great expence to the ryots, who must be the ultimate bearers of the expence, they would not give satisfaction. No *Sud* comes to Nagpore to live by moderate profits of his industry; all have heard so much of the gullibility of the Coles, as to wish to partake in their plunder, five hundred or a thousand such coming into the country and they to be the witnesses to decide on the validity or otherwise of the claims for arrears of rent all over the country, the Malgoozars being ignorant Coles not one of whom can read or write, would inflict immense injury. It is impossible to expect ever to get such honest Putwaries as the Muhtoes are, I would therefore recommend leaving well alone, on this instance at least. It sometimes appears very desirable, that Puttas and Kabooliuts, should be exchanged between the Coles and the land-owners or Theekadars, but I am satisfied the attempt would give rise to great injustice and confusion and would after all be found impracticable.

25. In respect to the puttass and kabooliuts between landholders and theekadars, it need to be stipulated that abwabs according to the custom of the country should be paid. Soon after I came here, I ordered that the exact amount of each abwab in money should be stated in the puttass; if not, the above indefinite agreement would be considered to signify nothing. This has been acted on, and now all puttass state the amount in money, say rent Rs. 100, abwabs Rs. 10, total Rs. 110. Those that do not state the actual money amount of abwabs, are in the courts of this division, merely considered good for the actual amount of money-rent stipulated.

26. The Coles are by no means the extremely simple and easily imposed upon people, that you appear to have been led to suppose. On the contrary they are in all that concerns their own small transactions, I should say an intelligent people, as much, if not more so than labouring class of any part of India, which I have visited.⁸² That they are frequently imposed on by their land-

⁸² Ricketts, Member of the Board of Revenue, in his Report on Chota Nagpur

holders, is not for want of comprehension, but that they have been so long, so completely left to their mercies, and so entirely deprived of any protection from them (as complained in paragraph 9) that it is difficult for them to make up their minds to resist. The establishment of this Agency has done much to teach them independence, and if their complaints are listened to, and speedily redressed, as they have been for the last five or six years, they will not submit to ill usage from any one. There must have been some mistake, in the information you have received, about their paying twenty tuckas and receiving only thirteen; no Coles would submit to that, unless from actual force.

27. A Cole village community consists of the Munda, Muhto, Pahn, Bhondari,³³ Gorait,³⁴ Gowalla³⁵ and blacksmith. There are no Hajam³⁶ or Dhoobees,³⁷ the Coles shave themselves, and their women wash their clothes.

28. The Moonda³⁸ is the chief of the Bhoonjers and is generally considered to be, in some sort, the representative of the old Moonda head of the village; he is a person of consequence in the village, and in all matters under discussion, his opinion has much weight; besides which, he is the person through whom, any demands upon the Bhoonjers, from the owner of the village, whether of money or labour, are signified, and until he agrees to their justice, they are pretty sure to be resisted by the other Bhoonjers; he receives no

in 1854, commenting on this passage, wrote:—"Though Dr. Davidson declares that 'the Coles are an intelligent people, as much, if not more so, than the labouring class of any part of India which I have visited', they have been, with very few exceptions, regarded by the authorities as unfit to run with a message or carry a spear. With alien farmers, alien Omlah, and alien subordinates in all Departments over them, doubtless the Coles have very much to endure.—*Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government, No. XX. Chota Nagpur*, para 43.

³³ *Bhāṇḍārī* or steward in charge of the landlord's *bhāṇḍār*. (lit. store-house) or quarters in the village. Here the grains, etc., of the landlord's share are stored, and the landlord and his servants put up when they visit the village.

³⁴ *Gorait* is the watchman of the village. The name has now become a caste-name as well.

³⁵ *Gowālā* is a man of the Ahir caste who grazes the cattle of the village.

³⁶ *Hajam* is a barber.

³⁷ *Dhoobee* is a washerman.

³⁸ The *Moonda* or *Munda*, besides being a tribal name is the designation of the secular village head-man in villages inhabited mostly by families of the Munda tribe and also in some Oraon and Kharia villages adjoining the Munda country. But in most Oraon and Kharia villages the secular head-man of the village is known as *Māhto* and there is, in some villages, also a head-man of the name of 'Munda'.

salary or remuneration, besides his Bhoonjeri land.

29. The Muhto is the most important person in the village; he assigns land to the ryots, gives the gotee, collects the rent and pays it to the owner or his representative, settles any disputes as to the amount of rent owed by the ryots, and in short is the person upon whom the settlement of the whole pecuniary affairs of the village depends. He receives one Pawa of Rujhus free of rent as his Jageer. The office of Muhto is neither hereditary nor permanent, the owner may change the Muhtoe whenever he pleases.³⁹ Besides the Jageer, in some villages the Muhto gets a fee of one or two pice from each ryot annually, but this is not usual.

30. The Pahn is the person whose duty it is to perform all the Poojas. For this he has a Juggeer called Dali Khettari⁴⁰ He is also in general a person of influence in all transactions. The office of Pahn is frequently hereditary, but not necessarily so.

31. The Bhandari is a sort of agent through whom the owner's orders to the ryots are signified; he gets any work done through them that may be in hand, and also assists the Muhto in making the collections and causes the ryots to attend upon him. He has a Juggeer of one pawa rent free from the owner and gets from each ryot in the village 3 Kuraes or bundles of the crop, as it is cut down, one of Gondlee, one of Gora, and one of wet crop rice; each bundle may contain about ten seers.⁴¹

32. The Gorait gets in general an allowance of from ten to twenty seers of Dhan from each ryot, according to their means, also three Kuraes.

33. The Gowalla and blacksmith get a Kat or maund of

³⁹ This is true only with respect to non-Bhuinhari villages. In Bhuinhari villages the Mahato is the servant of the village community who appoint him where the post is elective or (where the post is hereditary) acknowledge one of the heirs (generally the eldest son) of the deceased Mahto as his successor, and has Bhuinhari Mahatoi lands; and the landlord in such villages has no right to dismiss or appoint a Mahto, although by way of courtesy or rather by way of a public recognition by the landlord of the position and dignity of the Mahto, the landlord in many villages formally ties a *pagri* or head-dress round the new Mahto's head, on the latter's succession to the office.

⁴⁰ *Dalikatari*, the proceeds of which are wholly or partly spent in defraying the expenses of the periodical public religious feasts.

⁴¹ Since all prædial conditions and *abwabs* attached to land have been now commuted to money-payment and consolidated with rent, the *abwab* known as 'Bhandāri *dhāt*' has been abolished.

Dhan for each plough and 3 Kuraes from each ryot. The Gowalla is accountable for all stolen cattle.

34. In general, a land-holder cannot turn out his Theekadar during the currency of his lease. In some cases it is done through this court, on proof of his having fallen into arrears. The Theekadar cannot oust the old cultivators in the village as long as they pay their rent, nor can he increase their rent. The Zameendars have no claim from the Theekadar beyond what is stipulated in his Kabooliut, nor has the Theekadar any claim against the land-holder, for a longer term than is stipulated in the Patta.

35. It is difficult to say what the expence of the Poojas in a village annually amounts to. There are three annual Poojas which always take place viz., the Surhool Pooja in the month of Chyet, Kud Leta Pooja in Sawan, and Khura Pooja in Aghan. In all these the Pahn supplies rice and Hundea from the produce of his Dali Ketari, and the ryots supply fowls by a general contribution. There is a pooja on a much larger scale called the Dhura or Deswali, performed every third year. In this pooja, buffaloes, goats, sheep, fowls, rice, liquor, are expended; the expense is defrayed out of the accumulated rents of the Bhootkhetta for three years. Every person in Nagpoor, *Sud* as well as Cole, believes that these poojas are essential, and that unless they are performed, the crops will fail, and the village in which they are neglected will be immediately deserted.

36. The *kists* in Nagpur are the *kist* called *sona motty*, payable at the Dussera, it amounts to about 10 per cent on the Jumma, *Kist Pancha*, payable at the end of Katick about 30 per cent, *Kist Mungni* payable in Chyet, also about 30 per cent, *Kist Hakmee* payable in Jeyt amounts to about 15 per cent, and *Kist Barowtra* payable in Assar, also amounting to about 15 per cent, completes the year's rent. The above are the old established *kists*, which the Coles all acknowledge to be just, but the Zumeendars are in the habit of demanding their *kists* in advance, also at irregular times, which ought never to be admitted, as it obliges the Coles to get into debt.

37. There is a most serious abuse that prevails in Nagpore, particularly in the Raja's villages or Khass Bhandars, as they are

called, I allude to *Tulbanna*.—If the rent falls into arrears in one of those villages, a jemadar at 8 annas a day *tulbanna*, and sometimes two at the same rate, accompanied by three or four Burkundazes at one and a half annas a day, are sent from Palkote⁴² to collect it; they remain in the village and are fed at the expense of the ryots, sometimes for several months; in the end they have to get paid their Tulbanna, which is generally done by the manager or farmer of the village out of the rents in his hand. This of course causes a deficiency which he makes good by levying, what is called in Nagpoor a *beerī*,⁴³ or rateable assessment on the ryots.

38. This if originating in an actual arrear of rent would be a great hardship and liable to abuse, but in point of fact, the arrears are in general only nominally due by the Coles, who are most regular rent payers, and with the exception, it may be, of one or two distressed persons, regularly pay their *kists* when due to the Muhto, who pays them to the farmer or agent of the landowner; he often expends the rents and when the Jemadars etc., came from Palkote, on pretence of the trifling balance due by a few of the ryots, puts the whole village to the expense of feeding and paying these Harpyes. The truth appears to be that this is one mode of the Zumeendar's keeping up an establishment on very small pay, the balance being made up by Tulbanna.

39. There is another great abuse arising out of the Tulbanna system. At the end of one or more years, the Manager of the village pretends he has expended certain sums in Tulbanna and feeding servants of Zumeendars who have come to the village etc., and that the ryots must assess themselves to pay it. This they are often silly enough to do, but frequently have complained to me, in which cases,—I have ordered the money to be restored, and punished the offenders.

40. I recommend that a proclamation be issued, directing

⁴² Palkōṭ was a former seat of the Raj family of Chota Nagpur which has since removed to Rāntu, 7 miles from Ranchi. A junior branch of the family still resides at Palkōṭ in the Gumla sub-division of the Ranchi District. The evil of 'Talvana' is said to be still not altogether extinct. And another old evil known as 'rasid-likhāi' or the illegal levy of a fee from each ryot for the landlord's clerk for writing out receipts, is still rampant.

⁴³ *Behri* or rateable levy of contribution.

no Zumeendar, farmer etc., ever to take Tulbanna from any village community in the gross, but that whatever ryot is actually in arrears a piada may be put over to compel payment, and that the rate of Tulbanna in no case, ever exceed one anna and a half a day, if the piada comes from a distance, or if he is an inhabitant of the same village as the defaulter, that one pice and 1 seer of rice a day shall be the amount of Tulbanna:—

41. The only abwabs now willingly paid by the Coles in Nagpoor, are *ogra*, which is paid by the Bhoonjers of the village and varies from three to six rupees according to the size, *Dussera selami* generally one rupee, *Purkbye* generally about one per cent, two goats one called *Jheeka*, at the Dussera, and the other called *Mungur pooja* given when demanded.⁴⁴

42. In addition to the above, in certain villages, particularly what are called the Raja's Bhandars, there is a custom of giving a rupee called *buyswan* to the ryots, in exchange for which they have to pay ten *tambies* of ghee, equal to about a seer and a half each. Also when the Raja requires goats he sends and takes them, and gives twelve pice to the owner. At the Dussera the buffaloes required for sacrifice, are taken in this way, and paid for at the rate of two rupees of thirteen tuckas each. The buffaloes so taken, are on an average worth four to five rupees each. In levying all the articles named in this paragraph, the Raja to whom it chiefly applies, is in the habit of employing piadas who are entitled to tulbanna from the ryots, and having necessarily a discretion whose goat or buffalo to take, are in the habit of exacting bribes besides.

43. The Abwabs mentioned in the last paragraph, are liable to great abuse but I would not recommend their being done away with, as that would be a great hardship upon the Raja.—The preferable plan would be to regulate them by inserting in the Pattas the number of goats that he is entitled to, from each village at a fixed price and making him collect them from his Theekadar or Manager, not from the ryots, from whom he ought to be strictly prohibited taking tulbanna on account of Abwabs.

⁴⁴ All these *abwabs* have been since commuted into cash and consolidated with the cash rent of the tenant.

44. There are no percentages taken on the produce in Nag-poor, nor are there any rules regarding irrigation, it being a matter almost entirely neglected.

45. Ploughmen receive annually from two to three rupees wages, and 18 kats of Dhan as subsistence; they also receive a small bundle of rice in the straw for each day they are engaged in cutting the rice and also a Kurae, in some parts every 3rd day, in others less frequently.—A man employed all day in harvest gets a kurae, a woman half a kurae, each containing 15 to 20 seers of Dhan.—The hire of a plough and bullocks for half a day is one pice.

46. In Nagpore there is no land measure, the quantities of land signified by Bhuries, Kharies, and Pawas are quite arbitrary, Pawas in the same village often differ in size and they differ very much in different villages. In some cases a Pawa is only sufficient to sow two maunds of seed, in others it admits of ten or twelve maunds being sown; such a thing as actual measurement by Beegas and Biswas is unknown.—Four Pawas make one Kharie and eight Kharies one Bhurie.—These denominations apply to the Doon or rice field; the Dan[ṛ] or dry field, is estimated by Kats, each Kat admitting of a maund of seed.

47. In making rules for the protection of the Coles, the interests and rights of the Raja ought to be protected as far as is consistent with justice. Till within the last few years his family has always enjoyed the independent control of this country subject to the payment of a small quit rent, and every motive therefore of policy and justice recommends that his right and even prejudices should be respected, as far as is consistent with the right of the great body of the community.—The constant interference that from the constitution of our courts, we are compelled to exert with his old established rights, is very annoying to him, and unless great discretion is used much injustice may be done to him.

48. From what is above stated it is clear that the Coles were originally the owners of the country: as they form at present almost the whole of the working population of it. In all proposals for the improvement or future good Government of the

country especial reference ought to be had to their rights, customs and even their prejudices: unless this is kept in view, and they are carefully protected from the oppression of the landholders and the fraud and injustice of the Mahazuns and other *Suds*, the country can never prosper.

49. In conclusion I beg to be favoured with your orders in the different points submitted in paragraphs 16-19-40 and 43 of this letter.

I have etc.,

JOHN DAVIDSON,

Personal Assistant, Governor General's Agent.

Personal Assistant's Office, Lohardagga,

The 29th August 1839



Reviews and Notices of Books

1. *Buddhist Sūtras in Hindī*

Hindī is the Indian language which has undertaken to translate the Buddhist Sūtras [Pāli]. We have already before us in large-size tomes *the Vinaya Piṭaka* (1935) (pp. 578) and *Majjhima Nikāya* (1933) (pp. 688) published by the Mahābodhī Sabhā of Sarnath (Benares). The printing is in excellent type which is clear and beautiful though small, selected with a view to complete each Piṭaka in one volume. The Vinaya is printed on art paper. The credit of the get-up belongs to the Allahabad Law Journal Press.

The translation itself is remarkable for the perfect rendering, which being literal is still perfectly idiomatic Hindī. The translator, Rev. Rāhula Sāṅkṛityāna is a Tripiṭakāchārya and is regarded in Ceylon as one of the best Pāli scholars. He has the advantage of owning Hindī as his mother-tongue. With the additional knowledge of Urdu and Persian he is one of the best stylists in Hindī. He has the further advantage of being an Orientalist. The result is that the translation is the very best in any modern language. As to bulk, the Hindī rendering is gone beyond the English one. The third Piṭaka is already in the press. Hindī is the modern representative of the Buddha's mother-tongue and rightly it has proved itself the first modern language to make Buddha's words available to the present generation. The size of the volumes is $10\frac{3}{4}'' \times 7''$ and the price Rs. 6 each evidently below cost price.

2. *Buddha's Life in Hindī*

Buddha-charyā is a volume in 652 pages ($10'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$) composed by the Rev. Rāhula Sāṅkṛityāna on the life and teachings of the Buddha which has been published by Babu Śivaprasad Gupta, Benares, at the cost of Rs. 5,000. In this volume the learned Bikkhu has given the life in the very texts of the Sūtras and the doctrine in the Buddha's own words from the Sūtras, both without any comment of his own. Hence it constitutes an original source-book. This volume is also available from the Mahābodhī Sabhā, Sarnath

(price Rs. 5|- cost price).

Each one of the above three volumes has an index prepared by the Ven. Sāṅkṛityāyana himself. They are very valuable. Historical incidents in the two Piṭakas have been given in separate *Sūcbīs*.

On Indian Painting

3. On the Indian Art of Painting the *Bhāratiya Chitra-kalā* (pp. 100+3, $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, price Rs. 6|-) published by the Hindustānī Academy, Allahabad, is a volume in Hindī by Mr. N. C. Mehta, I.C.S., U.P., well-known from his book in English on the same subject. The Hindī volume is still a maturer production. It is illustrated by 42 plates. The author, a Gujrati gentleman, has perfect command of literary Hindī in which he often writes. He has in a compendious form dealt with the subject in a masterful way in this volume, which is the first manual on the subject in Hindī. It will never lose its place.

4. *History of Kashmir*

4. Under the title the *River of Kings*, Mr. Ranjit Sitaram Pandit has presented a new English translation of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, with 21 plates, published by the Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad. The volume is on art paper and the printing—an excellent piece of work—is by the Allahabad Law Journal Press. It gives us pleasure to find Indian printing at last improving and by leaps. The frontispiece has a fine colour reproduction of a picture of Nāgārjuna in the Patna Museum (Rāhula Collection). Mr. Pandit has not omitted any passage in his translation, and here his volume is an improvement on Stein's. The translation is in elegant language. I have compared passages with the original and found them to be true translation. The translator has tried to bring out both the feeling and sense of the author. It is gratifying that Mr. R. S. Pandit has found time from his professional work (he is a practising Barrister at Allahabad) to translate the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* with a thoroughness which shows that every sentence in the book has had his full attention. He belongs to the family of the famous Sanskritist the late S. P. Pandit, editor of the *Atharvaveda*.

K. P. J.

5. Anthology of Vedic Hymns (being a collection of hymns from the four Vedas). Selected, translated and commented upon by Svami Bhumananda Sarasvati, Vedic Missionary. The Ramlal Kapur Trust, Anarkali, Lahore, India; 1935; 10"×6", pp. xvi, 326.

6. Companion to Anthology of Vedic Hymns, Vol. I., containing a full translation of all the principal Vedic verses, errata, bibliography and appendices, by Bhumananda Sarasvati. Published by Ruplal Kapur, Secretary, The Ramlal Kapur Trust, Anarkali, Lahore; 1935; 9½"×6½"; pp. xii, 56.

The "Anthology of Vedic Hymns" is a careful selection of some of the best religious and philosophical hymns in the Vedas. As the compiler himself says in the Preface, p. vii, 'it is a religious book intended for the religious and devout seeker after God', and one would hardly expect interpretations from the philological or historical point of view. The compiler is a missionary of the Ārya Samāja and according to the theories of its founder Dayānanda, the Vedas are eternal, every *mantra* is religious and the names of deities such as Agni, Varuṇa, Indra etc., all refer to the One God. He interprets the *mantras* accordingly and loads his interpretations from religious stand-point acquired from diverse sources. In spite of his often having recourse to derivative meanings for *rūḍhi* words and to *vyatyayo babulam* or *babulam chbandasi*, we have to admit that his interpretations are sometimes bright, but his intolerance of others' views does not bespeak good taste. On p. 52 he speaks of Sāyaṇa thus: "He has, however, against the grain, been compelled to give up his pet method of importing any fanciful mythology in his commentary here". On p. viii of his Preface, he has: "There never was a more lamentable and unpardonable bungling done on this side of the grave than what they call Vedic Research by European Scholars and their Indian followers." On p. viii of his Preface to the "Companion" he has attacked Macdonell for representing \bar{a} and \bar{e} with the same sign /, but he seems to have conveniently forgotten that he has himself committed the same fault doubly by representing \bar{e} and the *anusvāra* with the same sign m, and \bar{e} and the *visarga* with *h*.

T. CHOWDHURY

Notes of the Quarter

*Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa
Research Society held in the Society's office on Sunday,
December 15th, 1935.*

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James

(Vice-President in the Chair)

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. Fazal Ali

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal

Mr. Shambahadur

1. Read proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on August 4th, 1935.
Resolved: that the proceedings be confirmed.
2. The Honorary Treasurer presented the monthly accounts from July to November, 1935.
Resolved: that the accounts be passed.
3. The following payments were sanctioned:—

Calcutta Oriental Press

Bill No.	Date	Detail	Rs.	a.
4138	13. 8. 35	Printing charges of Dialect of Bhojpuri, forms 8—10 and 11 (4 pages)	116	0
4040	8. 5. 35	Printing charges of Journal Vol. XX, Pts. III—IV and 32 pages Dialect of Bhojpuri	168	0
4041	„	Printing charges of Journal Vol. XXI, Pt. 1 and 24 pages Dialect of Bhojpuri	180	12
4135	13. 8. 35	Printing charges of Patna-Bihar Report Pp. 281—472 and reprinting pages 393-394	437	0
4218	23. 11. 35	Printing charges of Patna Bihar Report pages 473—624	342	0
	5. 8. 35	Printing charges of two maps to be inserted in Patna-Bihar Report prepared by B. & O. Survey Office, Gulzarbagh	159	0

Allahabad Law Journal Press

Invoice	Date	Detail	Rs.	a.
216 A	31. 8. 35	Printing Journal XXI (1) March, 1935	.. 261	3
62	15. 7. 35	Packing etc. " " "	.. 3	0
254	16. 10. 35	Printing Journal XXI (2) June, 1935	.. 465	7
253	15. 10. 35	Packing etc. " " "	.. 1	0
218	25. 9. 35	" " " " "	.. 1	8

4. *Resolved*: that the Journal of the Muslim University, Aligarh be placed on the exchange list of the Society.

5. Read letter from the Editor, Indiana:

Resolved: that a copy of the Journal be sent to the Editor; and he be requested to send us a specimen of the projected Index, as soon as it is published, to be placed before the Council.

6. Read letter, dated November 3, 1935, from Mr. Ganapati Sarkar.

Resolved: that the letter be published in the Journal, with request that members desiring to contribute to the Haraprasad Memorial may send their contributions to the Honorary Treasurer, or direct to the Secretary of the Committee in Calcutta.

7. Considered arrangements for the Annual General Meeting, 1936.
December 6, 1935

J. F. W. JAMES

Vice-President

Proceedings of an Ordinary Meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held on September 19th, 1935.

An ordinary meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society was held in the Physics Lecture Theatre of the Science College, at 6-30 p.m. on Thursday, September 19th, 1935. Mr. O. C. Gangoly gave a most interesting illustrated lecture on "Moghul Painting."

J. L. HILL



HARAPRASAD MEMORIAL

69 Beliaghatta Main Road

CALCUTTA

November 3, 1935

The Secretary
Bihar and Orissa Research Society
Patna

Dear Sir

I beg to take the liberty of approaching you on behalf of Haraprasad Memorial Committee appointed by the Bangiya Sahitya Parisat and state the following facts to draw your attention and sympathy.

The Bangiya Sahitya Parisat passed resolutions to preserve the sacred memory of late Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Hara Prasad Shastri, M.A., D.L.T., C.I.E. in the following manner:—

- (1) to set up a Marble Bust in the Parisat Mandir.
- (2) to create a fund from which Medals and Prizes will be awarded to scholars publishing research articles on Indology considered best by an expert committee,
- (3) to publish his works by the Parisat.

Mahamahopadhyaya Shastri was intimately connected with your Society, therefore I am approaching you with a hope that if you take up this cause then surely you will be able to collect a fund for his memorial from his friends and admirers in the Society. I trust you will co-operate in this noble cause.

Whatever amount may be collected, will kindly be sent to me.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) GANAPATI SIRCAR

Secretary

Haraprasad Memorial Committee

* * *

The Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society at its meeting held on December 15th, 1935 resolved that the letter be

published in the Journal, with request that members desiring to contribute to the Haraprasad Memorial may send their contributions to the Honorary Treasurer, or direct to the Secretary of the Committee in Calcutta.



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